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SIR RHYS AP THOMAS :

A STUDY IN FAMILY HISTORY AND TUDOR POLITICS.

BY THE LATE DAVID JONES, ESQ.¹

For Wales, quite as much as for England, the accession of Henry VII is an epoch-making event. The English historian, however, finds so much to engage his attention in English affairs—namely, the development of

¹ The following paper was handed to the Editor of this Journal a short time before its author's lamented death. Having learnt that I was collecting information as to the tragic fate of Sir Rhys ap Griffith, the late Mr. Jones was good enough to express a wish that I would look through the paper he had written, dealing with the same subject. He accordingly obtained the return of his manuscript, and read it to me at my house. I ventured to suggest some slight alterations, and supplied a few references to records that Mr. Jones had not consulted. He left me saying he would spend another week at the Public Record Office in the search after some additions to the scanty list of documents that have been preserved relative to the trial of Sir Rhys ap Griffith. I never saw him again. Shortly after our last interview he was seized with an illness which terminated fatally.

His extensive collection of drawings of South Wales antiquities, and his transcripts from the public records, Mr. Jones bequeathed to Mr. Iltyd Nicholl, F.S.A., The Ham, Cowbridge. Included amongst them was the following paper, which remained in the same state as when I had heard it read. By Mr. Nicholl's kindness it has been again placed in the hands of the Editor of the *Arch. Camb.*, and I have been requested to furnish a few notes. These are followed by my initials; the others were written by Mr. Jones. It will, I trust,

the "New Monarchy" rendered possible by the virtual extinction of feudalism at Towton field—that he leaves those of Wales to take care of themselves. Having once landed Henry at Milford Haven and got him safe on his march to Bosworth, he takes leave of Wales altogether. The reason of this is not far to seek. Welsh affairs, notwithstanding the important changes which they underwent—prepared for in this reign and completed in the next—were of a domestic character, and in no way affected the current of English history. Students of Welsh history then, may, with advantage, fix their eyes with more earnestness than they have hitherto done upon the reigns of the Tudor sovereigns. Let them mark the progress of the great transformation which then took place, and also how those changes were received and borne, not only by the common people, but by those who stood in the place of the old feudal nobility.

Material for this study will not be wanting. The modern history of Wales—or at least of South Wales—may be said to begin with the reign of Henry VII. Records there are, of course, of earlier periods, but they are disjointed and fragmentary. They do not tell a continuous story of the progress of events, or show, step by step, the development of a policy. Enough, indeed, is recorded, or remains of incidental record, to assist the imagination, but the imagination must be rather largely exercised before one can realise what must have taken place in the country from, say, the twelfth century to the latter half of the fifteenth, to have produced the condition of things which is found existing in 1485. With that year a new order of things begins. We are at the spring-head of what may be called continuous historical record.

be borne in mind that the author contemplated certain alterations and emendations in his paper; but I have not felt myself warranted in making the slightest change in the manuscript, even in those portions which I know would have been subjected to excision or correction had the author lived to effect them.—EDWARD OWEN.

No attempt will be made in this short study to define, or enlarge upon the effects which Henry's accession, or the advanced policy of his successor, had upon the affairs of the Principality. Something of both may probably be found in the chapter of family history which will presently be unfolded, and which had, as already is well known, so tragic—so pathetically tragic—an ending. What is not so well known is what the causes were which immediately led up to that tragedy; and these it will be the purpose of this paper to set forth.

In the story of the seventh Henry's adventurous landing at Milford—an adventure which savoured almost of romance—the most prominent figure next to the adventurer himself is that of Sir Rhys ap Thomas. Even the English historian, if he gives anything like a *résumé* of the events of the time, is obliged to notice him. For a few momentous days his is the most interesting personality, and his the most important influence of any man's in the kingdom. How anxiously his every movement must have been scanned, and his every word and action weighed, by those in the train of the Earl of Richmond! How different would the whole course of English history, from that day to this, have shaped itself had Sir Rhys at that critical moment elected to stand by and support the reigning sovereign! After Bosworth we pretty well lose sight of him from English history. This is a somewhat remarkable circumstance. Here is a man who has been the chief instrument in bringing about a change of dynasty; who has assisted an adventurer in putting his foot upon the first step of the ladder at the top of which is lodged the glittering prize of the crown; helping him with all his might until the topmost rung has been reached; and yet, when the prize has been won, remaining still the simple knight which that adventurer, now clothed in royal dignity, found him! Already the lord of eighteen hundred chief tenants, and able to bring into the

field four or five thousand horse fully equipped, it is not to be supposed that he hungered much for manors or lands as the reward of his services. The Patent Rolls for Nov. 1485¹ give us the measure of the new sovereign's gratitude, and reveal the modesty of Sir Rhys's demands and his indifference to reward. He is appointed (Nov. 3rd) Constable, Lieutenant, and Steward of the lordship of Breghnoc; and (Nov. 6th) Chamberlain of South Wales in the counties of Kermorden and Cardigan, and Steward of the lordship of Builth in Wales. The statement which may be met with that he was "immediately made governor of all Wales" is inaccurate. No such official existed. His name will be found on the Patent Rolls a few more times, but these are the only entries we need notice: the rest add nothing material to the sum of Henry's generosity. He is much about the person of the sovereign, and if the "Life" of him which was written in the reign of James I is to be accepted as an accurate record of facts, he was his monarch's most doughty champion. Wherever an enemy of the king appears, there is Sir Rhys sword in hand. He it is who defeats Lambert Simnel's followers; he it is who carries off the honours of the day at Blackheath, when the Cornish rebels are encountered, by capturing Lord Audley, their leader; and it is he who pursues Perkin Warbeck when that impostor flies for sanctuary to the Monastery of Beaulieu. However much of romance there may be in this wondrous piece of biography,² the exploit just mentioned is corroborated by its being recited in the preamble to his patent of knighthood of the Garter. This investiture came but late in the

¹ Campbell's *Materials for the Reign of Henry VII*, 2 vols., 1873-7.

² Woodward, noticing this Life, says "Wales must be the Gascony of England.....The allowed exaggerations of the bards had taken deep root in the people's minds, or it would have been impossible to turn Sir Rhys ap Thomas into a hero." (*History of Wales*, p. 575.) A piece of criticism with which, although I quote it, I do not agree.

day, and is the only personal distinction which Sir Rhys received at the hands of his sovereign. A simple knight he remained his whole life long.

One would have expected that Henry, who was primarily indebted to Sir Rhys for his throne, and who daily received from him the most solid proofs of his loyalty and devotion, would have bestowed upon him, and that at the earliest opportunity, some honour more signal than a vacant garter. Some reason there must have been for this singular omission; and, as Henry was a master of king-craft, this omission is significant. It has not escaped the notice of historians. Fuller, in his shrewd way, says: "Sir Rhys was never more than a knight, yet little less than a prince in his own country"; and Malkin, who touches on this subject, says:¹ "That the king ever afterwards called him familiarly 'Father Rice' is a poor argument, because his early adoption of the cause was sufficient to entitle him to such a compliment. Nor is it likely that Henry, sparing as he was of his rewards, would have contented himself with giving the garter for such a service"; and then he goes on to quote the anonymous biographer's opinion that Sir Rhys "considered knighthood as a soldier's highest honour, and wished his son to earn his own glory after the example afforded by himself". I do not think Malkin himself acquiesced in this opinion, but he does not carry the subject any further.

It is necessary, however, for the elucidation of matters presently to be referred to that an attempt should be made to discover what were the reasons which governed Henry's ambiguous conduct towards the man whom he kept so closely about his person and addressed with such affectionate familiarity as "Father Rice". This intercourse had warmth on the surface, but an icy coldness underneath. Great as the benefits were which had accrued to Henry from the betrayal by Sir Rhys of the trust which had been reposed in

¹ *South Wales*, vol. ii, p. 306, ed. 1807.

him by Richard, it may perhaps be said that Henry the King viewed it with different eyes from those of Henry Earl of Richmond. As king he silently resented the act which as adventurer it was all-important to him should be performed. It may be so; but this is not enough to account for all the circumstances we have already noted, and for those which follow. The times were troublous. Henry's title to the crown was none too good. Adventurers, in the shape of claimants to the crown, were springing up here and there in a manner quite unexpected. Sir Rhys was a powerful subject, and if high rank were conferred upon him, there would be the possible risk of his being turned into another "King-maker". Spite of Sir Rhys's energy and success in capturing such "claimants" as had arisen, this also had to be taken into account. But there may have been yet another reason. Gruffyth ap Nicholas, Sir Rhys's paternal grandfather, boasting of his descent from Urien Rheged, an ancient but somewhat mythical chieftain of "North Britain", reputed to have carved out for himself a petty sovereignty comprehending "all the land between the Tawy and Tivy", had, in the turbulent times of the "Wars of the Roses", attempted to assert a sort of independence within that territory. It came to nothing, for Gruffyth being drawn into the vortex of the prevailing strife, fell at Mortimer's Cross, fighting on the side of the Yorkists. Thomas, his son, who expatriated himself for a time and entered the service of the Duke of Burgundy, emphasised rather than renounced this shadowy claim by assuming the arms (so-called) of Urien Rheged. Besides this there was a pseudo-prophecy abroad, founded on a dream of Gruffyth's mother, the interpretation given to which was that her issue should "overshadow", that is, "rule", all the land between those distant rivers. The temper and superstition of the time were such that no ruler could afford to despise these things.

Prophecies were common enough. Everything of

moment that happened was found to have been foretold by some ancient seer or other. Henry's own cause had been materially strengthened, in Wales at least, by the wide-spread belief that his coming had been predicted ages before. After this the whole line of Tudors were strongly of opinion that prophecy should cease. That there should be the shadow of a revival of it, coupled with a claim to royal descent, in the family of Sir Rhys ap Thomas,¹ would probably operate as a sinister influence upon the mind of Henry, and become one of the causes of, even if it did not entirely account for, his very superficial friendship for dear "Father Rice"; and it would seem that whatever the influence was, it had been discussed in secret council of state, and transmitted from father to son. In Henry VIII it became more marked than it had been in Henry VII.

We might, from the point to which this analysis of motives has brought us, pass at one stride, if we felt so disposed, from the close of the reign of Henry VII to the twentieth of Henry VIII, when the events occurred which would subject the deductions arrived at to a final test. To do this we should have to dismiss Sir Rhys too hurriedly, and entirely pass over his son Griffith. Father and son demand some notice at our hands in these intervening years, and this notice we propose to give them, even at the risk of breaking the continuity of our study of Tudor statecraft.

Much of Sir Rhys's time must have been spent in attendance at court, or in carrying out the behests of his sovereign. Brought up at the Burgundian court, the atmosphere of the court would probably be that he loved best. The splendour and luxury to which he had been accustomed in youth, the return to courtly life in the robust period of his manhood, and the renaissance of art which he witnessed, must each

¹ Division II of the *Poetical Works of Lewis Glyn Cothi* is almost wholly made up of poems addressed to Sir Rhys ap Thomas or his brothers. They abound in allusions to the connection of the family with the house of Tudor.—E. O.

have contributed to develop in him a love of magnificence and ostentation which his large fortune amply allowed him to gratify. Carew Castle was transformed from a mediæval fortress into a sumptuous palace replete with all the conveniences and luxuries that the softer manners of the "new monarchy" could devise and the skill of the age produce. It stands, even now in ruin, a monument of the courtly tastes, the wealth, and the sumptuous requirements of the man who added to it its last and chiefest adornment. The splendours of Kenilworth did not reach their meridian until sixty or even more years later; and yet Kenilworth, the home of a royal favourite, and the very *beau idéal* of the magnificence of an Elizabethan noble, while it rivals, does not exceed, the splendour of Carew. Both Castles have certain features in common. Each shows in three stages, and in about equal degrees, the progress of architecture from the feudal to the semi-feudal, and developing finally into the untrammelled and purely domestic, which attained its stately inflorescence under the Tudors. Both were once the scene of a pageant upon which the eyes of all the chivalry and rank in the kingdom were for the time turned. The grand tournament held by Sir Rhys at Carew in 1507 had its parallel at Kenilworth in the reception there by Leicester of Queen Elizabeth in 1575, and in the splendid festivities which accompanied it. But while the brilliant spectacle at Kenilworth has been pictured for us by the wizard pen of Scott, and has received a colour and animation which no other pen could have given it, the description of the scarcely less brilliant, and even more picturesque and chivalrous, scene at Carew must be sought for in its most accessible form in the homely pages of Malkin.¹

¹ *South Wales*, vol. ii, p. 315 *et seq.* The connection of ideas brought about in this sentence leads one for the moment to reflect on the sorry condition of current imaginative literature connected with Wales. I speak of that which professes to delineate the manners and character of the people either from the historical or con-

We are informed by Dr. Malkin that this "is the only instance of such a solemnity on record in the Principality", and that it was an exceptional "liberty permitted to so great a favourite". Whether Sir Rhys could play the part of "hero" or not, it is placed beyond dispute that he could play the part of "prince" to perfection. A very prince he must have seemed those five days of the tournament, in the midst of his five hundred military guests, and surrounded by all the gorgeous panoply of holiday warfare. Henry "permitted" his "favourite" to indulge in this display of more than mere knightly wealth and influence; but depend upon it, careful note was taken on the King's behalf, by some of those present, as to how far that influence extended, that in the future an estimate might be formed of its power when exercised by one not so tried and trusted as the favourite.

Henry VII died in 1509. Sir Rhys retained his connection with the court for a few years longer. In 1513 he saw active service in the expedition into France, and notwithstanding his advancing years greatly distinguished himself in the field.¹ Having gathered these

temporary standpoint. The imaginative element in English literature is traced by more than one writer of eminence to a Cymric source; yet the modern literature of the Cymri of Wales is singularly deficient in this quality, at least as applied to modern recreative uses. If they were the original possessors of the artistic power over this faculty of the mind, now manifested in English literature, they seem to have given all of it to the Saxon, and kept none for themselves. After going through a considerable number of works of fiction, some of them meritorious enough in their way, of which the scenes are laid in Wales, and the characters ticketed with Welsh names, one is forced to the sad conclusion that the only writer who has drawn the Welsh man and woman with an appreciable amount of success is J. Llewelyn Prichard in *Twm Sion Catti*. Our "only novelist" met with the significant reward of being allowed to die in poverty, and was carried to a pauper's grave somewhere in Swansea.

¹ A letter of Henry VIII to the Earl of Shrewsbury, "given at oure Town of Calais, 8 July", relating to the ill-treatment of the Welsh, and to the "retynue of Lords Herbert and Sir Rice", was sold at Sotheby's on the 15th July last. It formed an item in the Middle Hill Collection.—E. O.

laurels he seems to have retired to Pembrokeshire, and spent the closing years of his life at Carew. He died in the early part of 1525. His will contains much matter of interest, and as it has not, I think, hitherto appeared in print, the opportunity may fittingly be seized to put an abstract of it in evidence.

[Bodfeld, xxxv.] Will of Sir Rice ap Thomas, Knight of the Garter. Dated 3rd Feby. 1524.

"Syke in body Soule unto almyghty god his meke mother Mary and to all the blessyd company of hevyn and body to be buried in the chauncell of the Grey Freres in Kermerdyn there as my mother lyeth and whensoever it shall please God to call my wife my will is that she be buried by me. To the cathedral church of St. Davids xx*li*. To the Freres of Kaermerdyn xx*li*. To the priory of Karmerdyn v*li*. xiijs. iiij*d*. To the Rode Church of Karmerdyn a vestment price liijs. iiij*d*. To Our Lady Church at Aberust'h a vestment and a chales price v*li*. To S. Barbara chapel a vestment price xls. To S. John's chapel a vestment xls. To S. Katherines chapel a vestment price xls. To Our Blessed Lady of Kardigan a vestment liijs. iiij*d*. To Our Lady Chapel at Aberustroth a vestment price liijs. iiij*d*. To S. Hilary Church in Vachayron a vestment price xls. To S. Rustyd a vestment price xls. To Our Lady Church of Landivason by Newton a vestment price xls. To the freres of Brecon liijs. iiij*d*. to buy a vestment before our Saviour Jesus. To the freres of Hav'ford West a vestment price liijs. iiij*d*. To the Abbey of Cũhere viij*li*. in money to buy a pair of Organs to serve God with'n the said Abbey. To Our Lady Chapel at the Bridg End of Cothy a vestment price xls. A crosse of silver to be made to the parish church of Carowe as my wife shall think good. I will that my wife during her life naturall enjoy all my lands in New Kermerdyn, Old Kermerdyn with the franchises &c. To my wife in money £100 one of the best basyns with an ewer and standing cupp gilt with all the plate came to me from Maister John Griffith. Item, more to my wife, xii fetherbeds with appurt's with ij hangings of silk xij paire of shets xij borde clothes iiij dozen napkyns and xij towells. I will that my wife enjoy the third parte of all my lordships and lands I had during her life except such lands as my daughter the lady havard hath for her joynture. I will that all my plate be weighed and valued to the uttermost except such plate as I have bequeathed to my wife. That my sonne Rys Griffith set

out as moch money as the plate will draw to to Mary his sister Elizab' and over that to give with her as moch as he shall think good yf she be well ordered by him. I give unto my Baase sons only my catall and oxen shepe and Rothes to be divided between them as by the overseers of this my will consider, trusting that those that be maryed (? *unmarried*) shall have more to their portion than those that be maried and have portions already. To every houshold servant of myn the hole wages for oon yeere, and will that the horses and harnys remeyn with them and not to be taken from any of them. That fyve pounds lands be given to the freres of Karmerdyn for a chantry there to fynd two prests to pray for me and my wife for ever To the Overseers of my will for their labour *xxli*. The residue of my goods and catalls not bequeathed I give to my sonne Rees Griffith whom I doe ordeyn executor through the advice of the right honourable and mighty prince the duke of Norfolk grace, so as my said sonne may order and dispose of the same as he shall think good. Overseers of my will my hed prior of Kaermerdyn Doctor John Vaughan Maister Lloid chanter of St. Davids Maister Stradling Chancellor of the same Maister Lewis Griffith William John ap Thomas Thomas Johns Dd. Lloid Lewis Thomas ap John and Howell ap Ridderch. Witnesses being present at the making hereof Doctor Dd. Mothvey Wardeyn of the Greyfreres of Kermerdyn Maister John Lewis Treasurer of St. Davids John Lloyd ichyn Griffith higon Phil Davy with all the Overseers aforementioned and many others."

Probate granted at St. Paul's, London, to the executor, Rys ap Griffith, in person, 5 Dec. 1525.

Sir Rhys was, in accordance with the direction given in his will, buried in the "chauncell of the Grey Freres" at Carmarthen, where a tomb bearing the effigies of himself and Dame Jenett, his wife,¹ was erected. Dame Jenett was probably buried there with her husband;

¹ Sir Rhys had been twice married. His first wife was Mabley (or Eva according to Malkin), daughter and coheirress of Henry ap Gwilym, Esq., of Court Henry; by which marriage an ancient feud between the families was extinguished. His second wife was Dame Jenet mentioned in the will. She was the daughter of Thomas Mathew of Radyr, co. Glamorgan, and widow of Sir Thomas Stradling of St. Donat's Castle. Her first husband died before he was twenty-six years of age. She had by him two sons and two daughters. There is no issue mentioned in the pedigrees of her second marriage.

but the date of her death has not been ascertained, and she may possibly have survived the thirty-third year of Henry VIII, when the fraternity of the Grey Friars was suppressed, and the church secularised. Upon this taking place, the tomb, with the mortal remains which it guarded, was removed to St. Peter's Church, where it is still in being.

It is to be observed that the Rys Griffith mentioned in the will as "my son" was the *grandson* of the testator, not his son. Sir Rhys survived his only (legitimate) son Griffith by some four years. Griffith, like his father, was attached to the court. He would seem more particularly to have been in the *entourage* of Prince Arthur. His name is to be met with frequently in the State Papers of the time, in appointments to various services both in the field and at court. In 1514 and several succeeding years he is in the commission of the peace for the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, and the Marches of Wales. Some time before this he had received the honour of knighthood, and had married Catherine, daughter of Sir John St. John, Knight. His appointment to the commission of the peace for the English counties mentioned would bespeak his having a landed connection therein, but what it was has not been discovered. Probably he had a manor-house in the county of Worcester, for in 1521¹ he died, and was buried in the Dean's Chapel in Worcester Cathedral, where there is a monument to himself and his wife. It is doubtful, however, whether she is buried there, for in March 1527 she married Sir Piers Edgecombe, Knt., of Cuthel, Cornwall. Sir Piers, like her first husband, had been attached to the

¹ The date said to be upon the tomb is 1522. If so, it is an error. In the State Papers for 1521 (No. 1818) will be found the appointment of James Jenkin, Yeoman-Usher of the Chamber, to be "Ragler" in the county of Cardigan, "*vice Sir Griffith Rice, deceased.*" Dated 2nd Oct., 15 Henry VIII. Sir Griffith's will has been sought for at Somerset House, but has not been discovered. If he left one, there is the chance of its having been proved at Worcester.

court.¹ She survived her second husband, and died in 1553. Her will, dated the 4th, was proved the 12th Dec. in that year. ("Tashe 22".) Sir Piers died about 1538. His will is registered in "Dyngely 30".

Rice ap Griffith must have been in the flush of early manhood at the time of his grandfather's decease, but his exact age is uncertain. In Williams's *Biographical Dictionary* he is stated to have been but nineteen,—a statement hardly consistent with the fact of his being allowed to undertake the executorship of his grandfather's will.

Sole heir to extensive possessions, he must, doubtless, from the death of his father in 1521, have been entirely under the tutelage or guardianship of his grandfather. Fair as his prospects on entering life may seem at a first glance to our eyes, they were not, it is evident, completely satisfactory to the person who of all others was best able to judge of them, namely Sir Rhys himself. There was, we may be sure, something far more than a desire to see, ere he departed this life, the sole male heir of his house well married, which led Sir Rhys to seek an alliance for his youthful grandson among the daughters of the ducal house of Norfolk. This marriage had taken place before February 1524. It brought "yong Mr. Rice", as we shall find him called presently, into close alliance with those who were mightiest in the land.

Turn for a moment to Burke, the handiest reference I can think of, and see what a galaxy of rank, beauty, genius, and chivalry is formed by the immediate descendants of Thomas Earl of Surrey and second Duke of Norfolk! How much of the history of the time—and a stirring time it was—clusters round the names we find included there in two generations!² Yes; but the history is one written in blood; for when before did so

¹ The grant of an annual rent of fifty marks out of certain royal manors in the county of Cornwall, was made by way of dowry upon this marriage. See State Papers, 1527, No. 3008 (sub No. 23).

² Burke, to whom Welsh genealogy is a great mystery, habitually

many of such a group fall by the untimely stroke of the headsman's axe?

Protection and support for his youthful, possibly rash and headstrong, but certainly inexperienced, grandson must have been the guiding motive which led Sir Rhys to court the alliance of the Howards. Little does he say in his will on this point; but that little is pregnant with meaning. The Duke of Norfolk is certainly not appointed executor; but the direction that "my said sonne shall order and dispose of" (the residue of the estate) "as *he*" (namely the Duke of Norfolk) "shall think good" is a very strong indication of Sir Rhys's hopes in regard to the benefit his descendant was to derive from the Howard alliance.

Prudence had ever guided Sir Rhys's course through life, and by her aid he had managed to keep his head on his shoulders when other heads were tumbling off. But it is vain for one man, however prudent he may be, to attempt to shape the course of another unless he himself is there to guide it through all its critical stages. It is often folly supreme for age, with all its wealth of experience (gathered, alas! in fields which are never to be traversed again), to lay the "dead hand" of its injunctions, or worse, its embarrassing prearrangements upon youth, which, burdened with these *impedimenta*, has to fight with the new and the unforeseen at every disadvantage. The ancient armour in which so much trust has been placed is utterly unsuited to the necessities of the hour, and is only so much rubbish. All that age can do for youth, after seeing that it gets such elementary training as the eternal round of youth must have, is to instil into its mind, as its higher training, certain principles of conduct which lie at the bottom of prudence in every age of the world, and leave the application of them to the discretion of the neophyte as time and circumstance

sets down Catherine, twelfth child of this second Duke, as having "married first Sir Rhese ap Thomas, K.G.", that is the grandfather of the man who really was her husband.

demand. This Sir Rhys hardly appears to have done. He safeguarded his grandson with the Howard alliance; and the Howard alliance, if the tradition preserved by the Rice family is to be accepted as founded on fact, proved to be a broken reed which pierced the hand which leaned on it.

Still further must we carry our examination of young Rhys ap Griffith's position in 1526. The insecure footing upon which Sir Rhys ap Thomas stood in the court of Henry VII, the superficial character of the King's friendship, the suspicion and dislike with which his extensive influence in his own country was regarded, his pretension to *quasi*-royal descent, have all been dwelt upon in an earlier part of this paper. Another cause of the dislike to Sir Rhys and his family latent in the breasts of the Tudors would be the great services which this Welsh Knight had rendered their house. It has passed into a proverb, common the world over, "from China to Peru", that to confer a great favour is to turn the recipient of it into your bitter enemy. This proverb applies indifferently to prince and peasant. The two Henrys, father and son, chafed under this sense of obligation. Time did not soften their feeling of smothered hatred. All that was desired and waited for was a decent pretext for removing the obnoxious person out of sight, and humbling the pride of the family. Time at last brought the opportunity of doing both these things, and with it the agent, or more correctly, the agents, willing to gratify the desires of the King. We shall presently see, from contemporary documents, who some of these were, and how they set to work; and contemporary opinion, also recorded, shall tell us who the others were considered to be.

For three years after July 1525 we lose sight of Rice ap Griffith. Much of this time must have been spent upon his estates in Pembroke and Carmarthenshires. During this time the issue which he left must have been born. The office of Chamberlain of the

counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan, which had been conferred on his grandfather for life, by patent 1st Henry VII, and the reversion to which had been granted to Sir Griffith Rice, his father, by patent, 8th April 1511, became void by his grandfather's death, and had not been confirmed to him, but had been granted to Lord Ferrers. Some office in the local government of the Carew district in Pembrokeshire he must have held ; probably it was that of Seneschal of Haverfordwest and Rowse. The State Papers of the time furnish ample evidence of the active discharge of the duties of his office. Thus we find him writing from Carmarthen, under date of 8th July 1528, to Wolsey (State Papers, vol. iv, No. 4485), "that 20,000 Irishmen have come, within these twelve months, into Pembrokeshire, the lordship of Haverfordwest, and along the sea to St. David's. They are, for the most part, rascals out of the dominions of the rebel Earl of Desmond, very few from the English pale. The town of Tenby is almost all Irish, rulers and commons, who disobey the King's processes issuing from the Exchequer of Pembroke, supposing their charter warrants them to do so. One of them, named Germyn Griffith, is owner of two great ships well appointed with ordnance. They will take no English nor Welsh into their service. Last year, hearing of a great number of them being landed, the writer made a privy watch, and in two little parishes took above 200, and sent them to sea again. They have since returned, with many more, all claiming kindred in the country ; but he has expelled them, as before. Throughout the circuit there are four Irishmen to one English or Welsh. The Mayor and town of Tenby have committed great riots and unlawful assemblies, with divers extortions, as appears by indictments against them in the records of Pembroke. They have also aided and victualled the King's enemies at different times.—Addressed to my lord legatt's most noble grace."

There are three more letters to the Cardinal in the

same volume (Nos. 5,190, 5,372, 5,770).¹ All relate to matters connected with the civil administration, the arrest of a man who had spread the rumour of the King's death, pirates in the Channel, and the arrest of some who had landed at Milford, etc. Although the letters are official, there is a tone of friendliness in them indicating that writer and receiver held something more than a cold official esteem for each other. The relationship in which they stand to each other comes out strongly in the letter dated 3rd March 1529 (No. 5,345). It is so highly important a document in connection with the issues raised in this paper that I give it entire :—

"Pleasith it yo'r moost reverend fatherhod and my moost singular good Lorde and Maister, to call to your good and noble remembraunce howe it pleased the same yo'r moost noble grace of yo'r great goodnes & benigne favour to me shewed to gyf me Incomaundment, when I or anny my pouer s'unts or ten'nts shulde have anny wrong, to make relac'on therof to youre grace. Accordyngly pleasith it the same so it is, that my pouer ten'nts & s'unts by the light & malicious my'des of suche light p'sons that be deputies under my Lorde fferrers in these p'ties, be dayly without cause reasonable or good grounde put to vexac'on and trouble wrongfully. And some of my houshold s'unts kept under apparence from countie to countie, ffor thair pleasures only. And because that my Lorde fferrers hymself is verey good unto me, I were lothe to shewe the uttermost of thair demeano's towards me and myn. In considerac'on whereof I moost humbly beseche youre moost noble grace, that it may pleas the same to be so favorable goode lorde unto me as to directe yo'r honor'ble l'res to the said lorde ferrers, willing and desiring hym that I may be his deputie Justice & Chamberlayn in this p'ties the princypalitie of South Wales, ffyndyng sufficient sureties to discharge hym agenst the kings g'ce, and all other, conc'nyng theexercysyng of the same his offices. And by cause the moost parte of my pouer levyng is in the same auctorities, and to have my pouer ten'nts & s'unts with other my fryndes in quiet and to leve in Rest my self, so that I & they mought be themore

¹ The Public Record Office system of date-classification for documents of this period is somewhat arbitrary. I am inclined to think that one of the letters here mentioned was not written in the year to which it has been assigned.

able to do yo'r grace s'vyce I wolde be contentyd so yt myght stand withe yo'r g'ces pleasure to gyf my lorde suche some or somes of money as youre g'ce shulde thinke cons'ou'nt ov' and above all the ffee and wags belongyng to the same his offices, to be unto hym payed, yerely without charge. And as I am bounden of verely duetie the uttermost since that eu' may lie in my litle power, your noble grace shalbe assuryd p' of as knoweth the blessed trinitie. Who eu' p's'ue yo'r most noble grace from all adu'sities. ffrom Cayrewe the iij day of this M'che.

"Your humbell s'uante

"R. Gruffith."

Addressed: "To my Lord Legats good g'ce."

Endorsed: "Yong Mr. Rice l're of the iij of March."

Two things are noteworthy in the foregoing letter: first, that the heir of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, who was "little less than a prince in his native country", should, within four years of his succeeding to his grandfather's possessions and influence, have to complain of being subjected, in this "his native country", to the flouts and insults of the creatures of Lord Ferrers; and, second, the tone of dependence upon the great Cardinal which pervades it. Surely in both these features the token of coming evil may be discerned. Evidently Rice Griffith did not know, what his ducal brother-in-law might have told him had he felt disposed, that the hour of the great Cardinal's downfall was on the point of striking, if it had not already struck. He and his young wife had been rustivating too long in Carmarthen and Pembroke shires to be fully aware of what was going on at Court, and of the plotting and scheming of which the Court was the centre. Something they must have known, for the story of the ascendancy which Ann Boleyn had gained over the King would be the common talk of the land. And Lady Catherine was the aunt of the future Queen. They had opinions of their own with regard to the wooing, which they expressed either now or later, and which gave mortal offence. Chapuys, the ambassador of the Emperor Charles V, mentions this, and his letter from the Vienna archives will presently be quoted. Rice, as I have said before, was inexpe-

rienced in the ways of the world, and neither he nor his wife could trim their sails to catch the breezes which were blowing. This on the one hand; and on the other the flouting openly given to Rice, through his tenants and dependents, by the deputy and officers of Lord Ferrers. People of that stamp do not show incivility to those above them without a *mot d'ordre*. Their doings in this respect were not, we may be quite sure, unknown to Lord Ferrers. Why should his lordship have thus put himself out of the way? The answer to this question must be gathered from a survey of the whole chain of circumstances which ended, as far as Rice himself was concerned, with the scene on Tower Hill. No distinct record would ever be made of those springs of action, any more than of those earlier discussions in secret council of which dear "Father Rice" was the subject.

What counsel Wolsey may have given to "yong Mr. Rice" does not appear. It is evident, however, that the feud between the two rival claimants for influence in Dimetia—the one upon territorial, the other upon official grounds—ripened fast. Matters were soon brought to an issue between them. The first we hear of it is from Lord Ferrers himself. Here is a *précis* of his letter to Wolsey, 16th June 1529. (State Papers 1529, No. 5682):—

"I have held the Sessions in Kermerden to the King's advantage, correcting thieves and malefactors. During the Sessions Rece Griffiths, Esq., encouraged the malefactors by causing proclamation to be made in divers churches to induce the people to attend upon him, and make quarrels in the town of Kermerden. On Tuesday, 15th June, he came into the Castle with his armed servants, where I was with other gentlemen, and picked a quarrel with me about Thomas ab Howen, his kinsman, whom I had committed to ward for various misdemeanours, and for hurting the people when they came to the Castle to demand remedy, for which he was forfeited to the King 650 marks, as appears by his recognizance and other bonds taken before the Prince's Council. When he drew his dagger on me I took it from him, and committed him to ward, and shall keep him there until I know your pleasure. His friends stir up the people to rebel-

lion, but he shall not be let out until he finds sufficient surety to answer for his misdemeanours. I beg an answer by my chaplain, the bearer, and to be informed how I shall act in this case.

"Kermarthen, 16th June."

Beside this letter of Ferrers' must be placed that of "Lady Katherine Ryx" to Wolsey, written on the following day. It will be seen that Ferrers' *ex-parte* statement did not convey the whole truth. (State Papers 1529, No. 5686.) The *précis* of this letter also will be sufficient, for the original is in the writing of an amanuensis.

"His servant, Master Ryx Griffith, is in Caermarthen Castle, in the keeping of Lord Ferrers, on a false surmise of desiring one Tho. ap Owen, servant to the King, then in ward in the same Castle, to take out of the constable's hands one Jankyn, servant to the said Ryx; upon which the said Lord Ferrers drew his dagger, and Ryx in his defence did the same. There was no harm done, except that Ryx was hurt in his arm. On this he was commanded by Ferrers, on a penalty of £1,000, to remain in the Castle, at which the county is greatly discontented. The same Ryx, before he came to Caermarthen, sent his servants to take lodgings for him among his tenantry, and to set up his arms on certain doors, which were taken down by Ferrers. Great dissatisfaction has prevailed ever since Ferrers was officer in these parts, for he and his servants quarrel with Ryx's tenants. Ryx would have written, but is kept from pen and ink. Begs, for the great love between Wolsey and her father, that he will not allow them to have shame and rebuke.

"Caermarthen, 17 June."

Ferrers again writes to Wolsey on the 18th June, thus (S. P., No. 5693):—

"Please it your noble grace to be adv'tysede notw'tstandyng my laste I're datyd and sente unto your said grace the xvij daye of Junij of the greate rebell' & Insurreccion of the pe'ple in thys p'tyes at the comandyme't of Rice Griffith and my lady haward as for a troth ther was not such insurrecc'on in Walys at any time a man can remembre. Albeit by reason of such dred p'clamac'ons that I made in the kyngs name and yo'r grace I was able to resyst them because that dy'us of the kyngs s'unts and of his true subgiетts hering thesame dyd repayre unto me to thentent the kyngs peaxle myght be kept. Then the Cap-

tayns and Ry'gleders w't all other ther retynues in eu'y quarter retornyd home into their countreys and as now eu'y thyng is quyette. And hauyng no dowt yo'r gracious plesure knowen of this and other my l'res that I shall order every thyng accordyng to the kyngs highe comandyme't and yo'r grace as knoweth all myghty God to whom I do dayly pray for the p's'uac'on of yo'r moost noble and Royal estate long to endur'.

"At Kerm'then the xvijth day of June.

"Your mooste bounden Oratur

"Water Deverix."

(*To be continued.*)

THE FIRST WELSH MUNICIPAL CHARTERS.

BY HENRY TAYLOR, ESQ., F.S.A., TOWN CLERK OF FLINT,
AND DEPUTY CONSTABLE OF FLINT CASTLE.

(Read at the Holywell Meeting, Aug. 18th, 1890.)

THE recent legislative creation of County Councils, and the consequent infusion of municipal life into the government of county affairs, has suggested to me that a paper upon the first introduction of English municipal institutions into Wales might not be an uninteresting subject to the members of the Cambrian Archæological Association, particularly as I hope to prove that the first four royal charters to towns in Wales were made, dated, sealed, and witnessed at our county town of Flint. In England "those municipal institutions which have so large a place in the body politic of the country, and are the corner-stone upon which its liberties have arisen", were at first gradually and step by step acquired; but King Edward I, who has been justly called "the greatest of the Plantagenets", in the charters he granted at Flint on the 8th of September 1284 to the towns of Carnarvon, Conway, Rhuddlan, and Flint, at one swoop, as it were, conceded to these, the first of the boroughs in Wales, all those liberties which had been granted to the more favoured of the English boroughs after years of contention. It is true that the King had shortly before, viz., on the 12th of November 1278, given a gild merchant and certain other liberties to the burgesses of Rhuddlan; but until these charters were granted there was no appointment of a mayor or other borough officer, and I venture to think that these charters must be considered as the first real royal municipal charters granted to towns in Wales.

Before, however, we proceed to the consideration

of these municipal charters, let us for a moment review the position of affairs at the termination of the war between the Princes Llewelyn and David on the one side, and King Edward on the other side. The war ended in 1283, and Edward had still a great work before him, a work of the kind in which he most delighted. Wales had been finally and entirely united to England; but it was still in an almost barbarous condition. The whole country was a scene of wildness and disorder, and Edward knew well that the first step in the regeneration of a country (so far as human government can regenerate it) is the establishment of just and well-considered laws. To this work, therefore, he immediately addressed himself. He did not, however, proceed by rashly ordaining that the laws of England should be henceforth the laws of Wales. He saw the necessity for first acquainting himself with the whole subject. "He was at great pains to gain a perfect knowledge of its ancient constitution and laws, and of the manners of its inhabitants." He issued a Royal Commission (an early instance of such a commission) to the Bishop of St. David's and others to investigate these matters most carefully. No less than 172 intelligent persons were examined upon oath by these commissioners, who upon this evidence framed a report. Having thus obtained the necessary information, Edward held a Council, or, as some historians call it, a Parliament at Rhuddlan, at which the "Statutes of Wales" were passed. The preamble to these statutes is well worth perusal, and I regret I have not time to give it here in full. The paragraph in it, however, which relates to Welsh laws and customs runs thus: "We have abolished some of them, some we have allowed, and some we have corrected; and we have commanded and ordained certain others to be added thereto."

It was in this spirit also that the municipal charters the subject of this paper, were framed. Let us also for another moment consider what were King Edward's

movements in this neighbourhood during the year 1284. In the early part of the month of March he divided his time between Chester and Rhuddlan, thus frequently passing to and fro through the entire length of the present county of Flint. We find him at Rhuddlan on the 8th March. On the 24th he left for Conway, and on the 1st of April arrived at Carnarvon, which he made his headquarters until the 6th of June. On the 10th of April he was at Harlech; on the 23rd at Criccieth, and returned to Carnarvon on the 25th, the day on which his son "Edward of Carnarvon" is said to have been born there. On the 8th of June he was at Bala-deulyn, at the foot of Snowdon, and remained there until the 3rd of July. The whole of the remainder of the month of July he spent at Carnarvon. On the 2nd of August he visited the island of Bardsey and the harbour of Porth-yn-lleyn, by the town of Nevin. At Nevin he held a grand tournament, where were assembled, says Matthew of Westminster, "the great body of the knights of England, with many foreign nobles". From Nevin King Edward returned to Carnarvon. Subsequently he visited Aber, Conway, Flint, and Chester. He was at Flint, as we know from the municipal charters now under consideration, on the 8th of September, and it is equally well known that he reached Chester on the 10th of September, and remained there for a week. On the 8th of October he was at Conway for four days on his way to Carnarvon, which he reached on the 12th of that month, and remained there until the 24th, going thence by way of Criccieth and Harlech to South Wales. Having premised this much, let us now examine the municipal charters—the subject of this paper. Unfortunately the originals of

Charter Roll, 12 Edw. I, No. 13.

Wall'. P' Burgens' de Flynt de lib'tatib' suis.—Rex Archi-
ep'is 'tc sal't'm Sciatis q'd volum' 't concedim' p' nob' 't here-
dib' n'ris q'd villa n'ra de Flynt decet'o liber Burgus sit 't homi-
nes n'ri eiusdem ville lib'i sint Burgenses 't q'd Constabular'

these four charters are lost. That of Flint was in existence in October 1654, and was then in the custody of the Mayor, Mr. Thomas Salusbury of Leadbrook, as appears from a note by that accurate and learned antiquary, Mr. Randle Holme of Chester, who at that time made a copy of it, which will be found in No. 2,099 of the Harleian MSS., folio 440, at the British Museum: he also gives a drawing of the seal appendent to it, which, he says, was of green wax, with red, green and silver strings. The impression upon the wax is that of King Edward's "Great Seal". I have spent considerable time and money in endeavouring to find this Flint Charter, but hitherto without success; nevertheless, I live in hope of being some day able to recover it. Fortunately, however, these charters were always copied, or entered *in extenso*, at the time they were granted, upon the Royal or Court Rolls, and these four charters will be found entered together upon the Charter Roll of the 12th year of King Edward's reign (No. 13), which is at the Public Record Office in Fetter Lane, London. They are written in what is technically called "court hand", that is to say, in the contracted monkish or law Latin of the period. I have perused them, and under the advice of my learned friend, the late Mr. Walford D. Selby, of the Public Record Office, whose early death is greatly to be deplored, I have had that of Flint copied *verbatim et literatim*, and translated by Mr. John A. C. Vincent, an able specialist upon records of this kind. If the Cambrian Association think this paper worthy of a place in their *Journal* I shall be glad to place both the Latin copy and the translation, both of which I now exhibit, at their service to print. The following is a copy of the translation :—

Translation.

The King to the Archbishops, etc., greeting. Know ye that we will, and do grant for us and our heirs, that our town of Flynt shall be henceforth a free borough, and our men of the same town shall be free burgesses, and that the Constable of our

Castri n'ri de Flynt qui p' temp'e fu'it sit Maior Burgi illius iurat' tam nob' q'a eisdem Burgensib' qui p'ius p'stito sac'amento de iurib' n'ris conservandis eisdem Burgensib' iuret super s'ca dei Ewangelia q'd ip'e lib'tates eisdem Burgensib' a nob' concessas conservabit 't faciet fidelit' ea que ad officiu' Maiorie p'tine't in eodem Burgo Concedim' eciam q'd ip'i Burgenses singulis annis in festo s'c'i Mich'is duos Ballivos ydoneos 't sufficientes de semet ip'is eligant 't d'c'o Constabulario tanq'am Maiori suo p'sentent qui in p'sencia d'c'o' Maioris 't Burgensium iurent q'd officiu' Ballive sue fidelit' facient 't exequent' volum' eciam 't co'cedim' q'd d'c'i Burgenses h'eant lib'am p'isonam suam in Burgo p'd'co de om'ib' t'ansgressorib' ibidem exceptis casib' vite 't membro' in quib' casib' om'es tam Burgenses q'am alii imp'isonentur in castro n'ro ibidem verumpt'n si aliqui d'c'or' Burgens' rettati accusati v'l indictati fu'int sup' aliqua t'ansgressionem in hui'modi casib' nolum' q'd ea occa'one imp'isonentur q'amdiu bonam 't sufficiente' manucapc'o'em inven'int ad stand' inde recto coram Capitali Justiciario n'ro v'l aliis Justic' n'ris ad hoc deputatis Concedim' insup' eisdem Burgens' q'd om'es t're eide' Burgo iam assignate dewarennate 't deafforestate sint omnino et q'd Judei in eodem Burgo aliquib' temp'ib' no' morentur Concedim' eciam p' nob' 't heredib' n'ris eisdem Burgensib' lib'tates subscriptas videl't q'd nullus vicecomitu' n'ro' in aliquo se intromittat sup' eos de aliquo pl'to v'l querela v'l occa'one v'l aliq'a re alia ad p'd'c'am villam p'tinente Salvis tamen nob' 't heredib' n'ris placitis Corone n're sicut p'd'c'm est et q'd ip'i h'eant Gyldam M'catoriam cum hansa 't aliis co'suetudinib' 't lib'tatib' ad Gyldam illam p'tinentib' Ita q'd nullus qui no' sit de Gylda illa M'candisa' aliqua' faciat in eade' villa nisi de voluntate Burgensiu' p'd'c'o' Concedim' eciam eisdem q'd si aliquis nativus alicui in p'fata villa manserit 't terram in ea tenuit 't fu'it in p'fata Gylda 't hansa 't loth 't shot cu' eisdem ho'ib' n'ris p' vnu' annu' 't vnu' diem sine calumpnia deinceps non possit repeti a d'no suo set in eadem villa liber p'maneat Pret'ea concedim' eisde' Burgensib' n'ris q'd h'eant sok' 't sak' Thol' 't Theam 't infangenetheof 't q'd quieti sint p' totam t'ram n'ram de Theoloneo lestagio passagio muragio pontagio 't stallagio 't de lene Danegeld' 't Gaywyte 't om'ib' aliis co'suetudinib' 't exaccionib' p' totam potestate n'ram tam in Angl' q'a in om'ib' aliis t'ris n'ris et q'd ip'i v'l eo' bona vbicumq' loco' in t'ra v'l potestate n'ra inventa no' arestent' p' aliquo debito de quo fidejussores aut p'incipales debitores no' extit'int Nisi forte ip'i debitores de eo' sint co'muna 't potestate h'entes vnde de debitis suis in toto v'l in p'te satisfac'e possint et d'c'i Burgenses n'ri creditorib' eo'dem debito' in iusticia defu'int 't de hoc rona-

Castle of Flynt for the time being shall be the mayor of that borough, sworn as well to us as to the said burgesses, who, having first taken the oath of preserving our rights, shall swear to the same burgesses, upon the Holy Gospels of God, that he will preserve the liberties granted by us to the same burgesses, and will faithfully do those things which appertain to the office of the mayoralty in the same borough. We grant also that they, the said burgesses, shall every year, on the Feast of St. Michael, elect from themselves, and present to the said Constable, as their mayor, two fit and sufficient bailiffs, who, in the presence of the said mayor and burgesses, shall swear that they will faithfully do and execute the office of their bailiwick. We will also and do grant that the said burgesses may have their free prison in the borough aforesaid for all trespassers there, except cases of life and limbs, in which cases all as well as burgesses as others, shall be imprisoned in our Castle there. Nevertheless, if any of the said burgesses shall be charged, accused, or indicted upon any trespass, in such cases we will not that for that cause they be imprisoned so long as they shall find good and sufficient mainprise to stand to right therein before our chief justice or other our justices deputed therefor. Moreover, we grant to the said burgesses, that all lands now assigned to the said borough shall be altogether de-warrened and deafforested, and that Jews shall not tarry at any time in the said borough. We grant also, for us and our heirs, to the said burgesses, the liberties underwritten, namely, that none of our sheriffs shall intermeddle in anything with them concerning any plea, or plaint, or cause, or any other thing, to the town aforesaid appertaining. Saving, nevertheless, unto us and our heirs the pleas of our crown as is aforesaid. And that they may have a merchants' gild, with hanse and other customs and liberties to that gild appertaining, so that no one who is not of that gild shall do any merchandise in the said town save by the will of the burgesses aforesaid. We grant also to the same, that if any bondman of any one shall dwell in the aforesaid town, and hold land in it, and be in the aforesaid gild and hanse, and loth and shot with the same, our men, for a year and a day, without challenge, he may not henceforth be redemanded by his lord, but remain free in the same town. Moreover, we grant to the said burgesses that they may have sok and sak, thol and theam, and infangenethef; and that they may be quit, throughout our whole land, of toll, lastage, passage, murage, pontage, and stallage, and of lene Danegeld and gaywite, and all other customs and exactions throughout our whole power, as well as in England as in all other our lands;

bilit' constare possit Et q'd iide' Burgenses n'ri p' t'ansgressionem seu forisf'c'ura s'vientu' suo' catalla 't bona sua in manib' ip'o inventa aut alicubi loco' p' ip'os s'vientes depo'ita q'aten' sua esse sufficient' p'bare poterunt no' amittant Et eciam q'd si iidem Burgens' aut eo' aliqui inf'a t'ram aut potestate' n'ram testati decesserint v'l intestati nos v'l heredes n'ri bona ip'o' confiscari no' faciem' quin eo' heredes ea integre h'eant q'aten' d'ca catella d'co' defuncto' fuisse 'stitit' dum tamen de d'cis heredib' noticia aut fides sufficient' h'eatur et q'd Burgenses n'ri p'd'c'i non co'vincant' p' aliquos forinsecos sup' aliquib' appellis rectis iniuriis t'ansgressionib' criminib' calumpniis demandis eis impo'itis aut imponendis inf'a Com' de Flynt 't int' ripas de Coneweie 't Dee set solummodo p' Burgenses n'ros p'd'c'os nisi de aliq'a re tangente co'munitate' Burgi p'd'c'i 't tu'c in casu illo deducant' s'c'd'm lib'tates approbatas 't hacten' 'ronabilit' vsitatas in Civitate n'ra Hereford' Quare volum' 't firmit' p'cipim' p' nob' 't heredib' n'ris q'd villa n'ra de Flynt decet'o liber burgus sit 't homines n'ri eiusdem ville lib'i sint Burgens' Et q'd Constabulari' Castri n'ri de Flynt qui p' temp'e fu'it sit Maior Burgi illius iuratus tam nob' q'a eisdem Burgensib' qui p'ius p'stito sac'amento de iuribus n'ris 'servandis eisdem Burgensib' iuret sup' s'c'a dei Evangelia q'd ip'e lib'tates eisdem Burgensib' a nob' concessas conservabit 't fidelit' faciet ea que ad officiu' Maiorie p'tinet in eodem Burgo Concedim' eciam q'd ip'i Burgenses singulis annis in festo s'c'i Mich'is duos Ballivos ydoneos 't sufficientes de semet ip'is eligant 't d'co' Constabulario tanq'am Maiori suo p'sentent qui in p'sencia d'co' Maioris 't Burgens' iurent q'd officiu' Balli'e sue fidelit' faciend' 't exaquent' Volum' eciam 't concedim' q'd d'c'i Burgenses h'eant lib'am p'isonam suam in Burgo p'd'c'o de om'ib' t'ansgressorib' ibidem exceptis casib' vite 't membro' in quib' casib' om'es tam Burgenses q'am alii imp'isonent' in castro n'ro ibide' verumpt'n si aliqui d'co' Burgens' rettati accusati v'l indictati fu'int sup' aliq'a t'ansgressionem in hui'modi casib' nolum' q'd ea occa'one imp'isonent' q'amdiu bonam 't sufficiente' manucap'c'o'em inven'int ad standu' inde recto coram Capitali Justic' n'ro v'l aliis Justic' n'ris ad hoc deputatis Concedimus insup' eisdem Burgensib' q'd om'es t're eidem Burgo iam assignate dewarennate 't deafforestate sint omnino 't q'd Judei in eodem Burgo aliquib' temp'ib' no' morent' Volum' eciam 't concedim' p' nob' 't heredib' n'ris q'd p'd'c'i Burgenses h'eant om'es alias lib'tates 't lib'as consuetudines sup'ius exp'ssas bene 't pacifice absq' occa'one v'l impedimento n'ri v'l heredu' n'ro' Justic' vic' 't alio' Ballio' seu Ministro' n'ro' quo'cumq' impepetu' sicut p'd'c'm est Testib' 'te' vt sup'a T. 'te' vt sup'a."

and that they or their goods, found in what place soever in our land or power, shall not be arrested for any debt of which they shall not be sureties or principal debtors, unless perchance the said debtors be of their commune and power, having whereof they may satisfy for their debts in all or in part, and the said our burgesses fail in justice to the creditors of the said debtors; and hereof it may be reasonably evident. And that the same our burgesses, for trespass or forfeiture of their servants, shall not lose their own chattels and goods found in the hands of the same, or deposited by the said servants in any place else, so long as they shall be able to sufficiently prove them to be their own. And also, that if the said burgesses, or any of them, shall decease within our land or power, testate or intestate, we or our heirs will not cause their goods to be confiscated, but their heirs may have them entirely so long as it shall be plain that the said chattels were of the said deceased, while, nevertheless, knowledge or belief be sufficiently had concerning the said heirs. And that our burgesses aforesaid may not be convicted by any foreign persons upon any appeals, rights, injuries, trespasses, crimes, challenges [or] demands, laid or to be laid upon them within the county of Flint, and between the banks of Conweye and Dee; but only by our burgesses aforesaid, except of anything touching the commonalty of the borough aforesaid, and then in that case they shall be brought according to the liberties approved, and up to this time reasonably used, in our city of Hereford. Wherefore we will, and for us and our heirs do firmly command, that our town of Flynt be henceforth a free borough, and our men of the same town be free burgesses; and that the Constable of our Castle of Flynt, for the time being, be mayor of that borough, sworn as well to us as to the said burgesses, who having first taken the oath of preserving our rights, shall swear to the same burgesses, upon the Holy Gospels of God, that he will preserve the liberties granted by us to the same burgesses, and will faithfully do those things which appertain to the office of the mayoralty in the same borough. We grant also that they, the said burgesses, shall every year, on the Feast of St. Michael, elect from themselves, and present to the said Constable as their mayor, two fit and sufficient bailiffs, who in the presence of the said mayor and burgesses shall swear that they will faithfully do and execute the office of their bailiwick. We will also, and do grant, that the said burgesses may have their free prison in the borough aforesaid for all trespassers there, except cases of life and limbs, in which cases all, as well burgesses as others, shall be imprisoned in our Castle there. Nevertheless, if any of the said burgesses shall

By the charter granted to the burgesses of Aberconwey, the attestation-clause referred to as "ut supra" is as follows :

"Hiis testib' ven'abili p're R. Bathon' 't Wellen' Ep'o Cancellario n'ro, Ric'o de Burgo Com' Ulton', Thoma de Clare, Ric'o de Brus', Reginaldo de Grey, Nich'o de Seg'ave, Petro de Chaumpvent, Joh'e de Monte alto 't aliis Dat' p' manu' n'ram apud Flynt octavo die Septemb'r'."

The first sentences of these charters declare that each town shall be a free borough, and "our men of the same town shall be free burgesses", that is to say, that the borough was declared to be free from the exactions of the Sheriff of the County, and the burgesses exempt from those jurisdictions of the King's Ministers to which their country neighbours were amenable. It is then provided that the constable of the castle at each place for the time being "shall be the Mayor of that Borough", thus mingling, for good reasons, the civil with the military power in the constitution of the Municipal Government. The use of the word "Mayor" in these charters, to describe the head of a municipality, is a somewhat early one. At the ancient City of Chester the first borough officer styled Mayor was Sir Walter Lynnet, in 1247, and Stow fixes the date of 1189 as that when the first mayor was appointed to govern the City of London. The earlier name of the head of a municipality was Borough-reve or Port-reve, as distinguished from the Shire-reve (Sheriff) of the county. The charters then ordain that the burgesses, every year at Michaelmas, shall elect from among themselves two representatives, bearing the Norman name of "Bailiffs", and present them to the Mayor. Thus a kind of Municipal Houses of Lords and Commons were created, the Mayor representing the former and the Bailiffs the latter. The next privilege conceded to each borough was the right to have "a free prison", except with respect to cases of "life and limbs", when the persons charged were to be detained in the Castle. That

be charged, accused, or indicted, upon any trespass in such cases, we will not that for that cause they be imprisoned so long as they shall find good and sufficient mainprise to stand to right therein before our Chief Justice or other our justices deputed therefor. We grant, moreover, to the said burgesses that all lands now assigned to the said borough shall be altogether dewarrended and deafforested, and that Jews shall not tarry at any time in the said borough. We will also, and for us and our heirs do grant, that the aforesaid burgesses may have all other the liberties and free customs above expressed, well and peacefully, without hindrance or impediment of us or of our heirs, justices, sheriffs, and other our bailiffs or ministers whomsoever, for ever, as is aforesaid. These witnesses : the Venerable Father R[obert], Bishop of Bath and Wells, our Chancellor ; Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster ; Thomas de Clare, Richard de Brus, Reginald de Grey, Nicholas de Segrave, Peter de Chaumpvent, John de Montalt, and others. Given by our hand at Flynt, the eighth day of September. [A.D. 1284.]

is to say, each borough was entitled to have a prison of its own, in which persons charged with offences committed within the limits of the borough, and to be tried by the magistrates of such borough, might be detained, as contra-distinguished from the Crown gaol in the Castle at each place in which prisoners brought from the surrounding country were placed, as well as those from the borough itself who were charged with attempts against the lives or limbs of their fellow-creatures. In all cases, however, "any burgess charged, accused, or indicted" was, by these charters, entitled to claim to be bailed out of prison until his trial came on for hearing, whereas his more unfortunate country neighbour might "languish in gaol" for a considerable time before the itinerant justices reached the place of trial. The charters then proceed to declare that all lands assigned to each borough were thereby dewarrended and disafforested, or thrown open and reduced from the privileges of a warren and a forest to a state of a common ground. The Crown and powerful nobles, either by prescription or grant from the Crown, retained considerable tracts of land all over the kingdom, either as

warrens for beasts or fowls of game, or as forests for growing timber for profit or use, with very oppressive laws for their protection called "Forest Laws". The question of reducing their limits, particularly those of the Royal forest, was a burning one about this time. The grant of these free common lands to the burgesses was therefore an important one. Unfortunately, during the latter end of the last century and the beginning of the present one, the large neighbouring landowners were allowed to obtain certain "Inclosure Acts", which robbed the burgesses of the greater part of these common lands. As stated in the report of the Municipal Corporations' Commissioner of 1834, "this was an unjust sacrifice of the privileges of the burgesses". Speaking with respect to Flint alone, I may say that did the burgesses now possess those common lands which King Edward intended they should, the revenue the borough would derive from them would obviate the unpleasant necessity of the Corporation having to levy any rates whatever at the present time. The declaration which follows, that "Jews shall not tarry at any time in the said borough", has reference to another burning question of that day. This race, says Rapin, by their insatiable greediness of enriching themselves by unlawful means, such as usury, adulteration of the coin, and the like, "had so roused popular indignation against them that a few years afterwards, viz., in 1290, they were banished by Parliament out of the kingdom". By their clipping and adulteration of the coin they had affected the credit of the nation, raised the price of all the necessaries of life, and had almost ruined the foreign commerce of the country. The next privilege granted to the burgesses, and a very important one too, was the right to have their own courts of justice, the sheriffs being ordered "not to intermeddle in anything concerning any plea, plaint or cause, or any other thing in the town aforesaid appertaining", the pleas of the Crown excepted. As Bishop Stubbs, in his *Constitutional History of England*, says: "The right of ex-

cluding the Sheriff, and having their pleas decided on their own ground, involved their exemption from the ordinary sessions of the County Court. From the visitations of the itinerant justices, however, they were not exempted, but in their courts they obtained special privileges. The new Borough Courts were the old courts of the township, the hundred and the shire under new names." Independent exercise of jurisdiction in their own courts, and by their own customs, was no insignificant privilege to grant to these boroughs. But perhaps the most important grant made by these charters is this: "And that they may have a merchants' gild with hanse and other customs and liberties to that gild appertaining, so that no one who is not of that gild shall do any merchandise in the said town, save by the will of the burgesses." The merchants' gild, says Bishop Stubbs, "was an institution as old as the Conquest. In mercantile towns all the lands and houses would be held by merchants and their dependants; from the merchant who had made three voyages over the sea at his own cost and so thriven to thegnright, to the mere retailer, everyone who was in the position of a freeholder was connected with trade, everyone who would have a claim on public office or magistracy would be a member of the guild." This was so in the case of Flint, undoubtedly, as many early deeds of the time of Edward I, which I have recently discovered, give evidence. Many of the merchants of Chester, and other old towns of that period, or their connections and dependents, such as those of the families of Doncaster, Bradford, Brichull, Macclesfield, etc., settled and held municipal office at each of these Welsh boroughs, and they were joined by members of some of the leading tribes of North Wales. The possession of a merchants' gild was the sign of municipal independence. It was, in fact, the governing body of the town in which it was allowed to exist. It is to these early merchants that this country owes its greatness. Mr. Green, in his *History of the English People*, when speaking of the

policy of Edward in building up the power of the towns in view of checking the lawless tendencies of the barons, says: "The bell which swung out from town tower gathered the burgesses to a common meeting, where they could exercise their rights of free speech and free deliberation on their own affairs. Their merchants' gild, over its ale feast, regulated trade, distributed the sums due from the different burgesses, looked to the repair of the gate and wall, and acted, in fact, pretty much the same part as a Town Council of to-day." Time does not permit of my describing to you the filial relation of the craft-gilds, or trade companies, to the merchants' gild, and many important liberties appertaining to the latter. I must, however, say a word on the subject of the word "hansa" in these charters. Professor E. A. Freeman pointed out to me at Chester, when he occupied the chair at the Historical Section of the Archæological Institute, that the grant of a hansa was a very ancient and important one. It originally was a league or union of merchants, and arose from the dangers of travelling. Merchants travelled together, and had a common depôt, or storehouse, for their merchandise, which eventually became the central point of the Hanse. Lubeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, the three free cities of Germany, are still often spoken of as the Hanse Towns. The charters then proceed to declare that if any bondman of anyone should dwell in the aforesaid town, and hold land in it (this was the qualification of a burgess) and be in the aforesaid gild and hansa, and loth and shot (*i.e.*, be a ratepayer) for a year and a day, he might not henceforth be redemanded by his lord, but remain free in the same town. It must be borne in mind that slavery, with its bondmen and free-men, then existed, under the feudal system, in this free land of ours, and that Britons who "Never, never shall be slaves" were then slaves *de jure* and *de facto*.

The next liberties granted are general ones, viz., the right to sok and sak, thol and theam, and infangenethef, which were of a judicial nature; of freedom from toll,

lastage, passage, murage, pontage, and stallage, which were in the nature of tolls; and of lene danegeld and gaywite, which were Crown dues, not only in their own borough, but throughout the whole kingdom. These were each, as you are doubtless aware, valuable liberties, and I regret I have not time to explain them in detail. There is also a grant of freedom from arrest, except for their own personal debts, or those of their own community. I fancy I hear someone say, "Surely that is enough to be responsible for," but then Britain was not at that time the free country it is now. Then follows a grant to the heirs of a deceased burgess of the right to administer his effects instead of their being forfeited to the crown, as was the case generally. The last clause of these charters ran thus:—"And that our burgesses aforesaid may not be convicted by any foreign persons upon any appeals, rights, injuries, trespasses, crimes, challenges, or demands laid, or to be laid upon within (here the area is defined, and is different in each charter), but only by our burgesses aforesaid, excepting anything touching the commonalty of the borough aforesaid, and then according to the liberties approved in our city of Hereford." This municipal right in the cases of Flint and Rhuddlan was to extend "between the banks of the Coneweie and Dee", and in cases of Conway and Carnarvon, "between the banks of the Coneweie and Dovey". Thus we see that upwards of six hundred years ago certain municipal privileges existed over the greater part of North Wales, and that the recent infusion of municipal life into that area by the establishment of County Councils is not altogether a novelty. Hereford is the typical constitution on the model of which these privileges were granted to these boroughs, just as London, Winchester, Oxford, and Norwich were to others.

And now for the final paragraph of these ancient charters, namely, the attestation clauses, which ran thus:—"These being witnesses, the Venerable Father Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, our chancellor;

Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster; Thomas de Clare, Richard de Brus, Reginald de Grey, Nicholas de Segrave, Peter de Chaumpvent, John de Montalt, and others." The first-named witness is Robert Burnell, of Acton Burnell, near to Shrewsbury, the then Chancellor of England, and the King's early, constant, and intimate friend. He was always with the King at this period, and was prominent as, at least, the mouthpiece and executor of the policy of Edward in the annexation and pacification of Wales. He was elected Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1275, but he had been a statesman and a legislator before he became a bishop, and a statesman and a legislator he remained still. This great man was one of those who laid the foundation of our present parliamentary and judicial systems, and was the first to establish the enactment of law by statute. He it was who framed the Statute of Westminster, which Lord Campbell describes as a code in itself. The Statutes of Mortmain, of Westminster the Second, of Winchester and De Mercatoribus, were from his pen, the latter being passed at his own house at Acton, where he entertained the King and Parliament. "It is, perhaps, the best proof of the perfect harmony which always existed between the King and his wise and able Chancellor that we find it difficult to separate the one from the other. We cannot tell when the King himself speaks and when we are listening to his Chancellor." Burnell was present at Rhuddlan when the "Statutes of Wales" were drawn out, and can we for a moment doubt that these charters were drafted by this illustrious statesman, when we find him present at Flint at the time they were granted, and he himself named as the first witness to them? He died in October 1292, and lies buried at Wells Cathedral. The second witness, Richard de Burgh, was the second Earl of Ulster. Being an orphan, he had, during his infancy, been brought up by the King at Woodstock, and had only recently attained his majority. He had been with the King during the war, and, having won his spurs, had

received the honour of knighthood. He was one of the principal combatants at the then recent tournament at Nevin. In the copy of the Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Werburgh, at Chester (now Chester Cathedral), which MS. copy is the property of his Lordship the President of this Meeting (Lord Mostyn), and has recently, through his kindness, been edited and printed, with a translation, by the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, is the following entry referring to this tournament: "1284. King Edward caused a tournament to be held at Nevin, in Wales, where the Earl of Lincoln, Henry de Lacy, was the leader on one side, and Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, on the other." The third witness, Thomas de Clare, was also an intimate friend of the king from his youth. He was the second son of that Richard de Clare who was eighth Earl of Clare, sixth Earl of Hertford, and seventh Earl of Gloucester. The fourth witness, Richard de Brus, was of a knightly race. His cousin Robert was slain by Prince Llewelyn. The fifth witness, Reginald de Grey, was at the time filling the office of Constable of Flint Castle, and therefore became, by virtue of the charter, the first Mayor of Flint. He was the grandson of Henry de Grey of Essex, the first who bore that time-honoured name. This Reginald was the ancestor of that celebrated Reginald de Grey, Lord of Ruthin, whose disputes with Owen Glyndwr led to that brave Welsh chieftain appearing in open insurrection against the usurper Henry IV. From our first Mayor of Flint have sprung the Dukes of Kent and of Suffolk, the Earls of Kent, Wilton, and Stamford, and many other noble families. The sixth witness, Nicholas de Segrave, was a member of a distinguished family, and he himself was a valiant warrior and statesman. His sons, Nicholas and John, were with the king at the siege of the Castle of Caerlaverock, on the Solway Firth, in Scotland, in 1300; and in the celebrated contemporary poem which has been edited by the late Sir Harris Nicholas, and which describes the siege, Nicholas, the son, is thus

referred to : "By nature adorned in body and enriched in heart. He had a valiant father who taught his children to imitate the brave and to associate with the nobles. The father had by his wife five sons, who were valiant, bold, and courageous knights."

We find the name of the seventh witness, Peter de Chaumpvent, mentioned in the accounts for the building of Flint Castle, as making payments to the masons and others, and he is there described as a knight. I am inclined to think that this surname is synonymous with that of the modern Champneys. The last witness named is John de Monte Alto, Cheshire Palatinate, Baron of Hawarden, of a Norman family. His ancestor was created by his kinsman, Hugh Lupus, the Norman Earl of Chester, one of the Barons of that earldom, with the charge of the Castles of Hawarden and Mold, and thus he had the care of the eastern part of Flintshire. His mother was a daughter of the Earl of Arundel. The present Viscount Hawarden claims descent from him in the female line.

Now mark the last words of these charters : "Given by our hand at Flynt, the eighth day of September, in the twelfth year of our reign." Picture to your minds, my hearers, the tall, erect, and well-proportioned King, with his high, broad, and intelligent forehead, superintending the drafting and sealing of these charters. When his tomb in Westminster Abbey was opened in the presence of the Society of Antiquaries, in the middle of the last century, his body was found to measure 6 ft. 4 ins. in length. I have here a portrait of him, drawn by George Virtue, about 1640, which we have good reason to think is substantially a true representation of him. England possessed, in the days of Edward, good sculptors as well as architects, "and it is tolerably certain that the artist employed to erect, at Carnarvon, a statue of the King would be a man competent to execute that work in a creditable manner. It is true that at the present moment the hand of time has nearly destroyed every feature, but a

century and a half ago the statue was doubtless in a better condition. An artist accustomed to detect, with a practised eye, not only what was, but what had been, might gather from the brow, from the mouth, from the chin, and from the general contour, a tolerably accurate idea of the general portraiture. George Virtue, in his researches for the illustration of Rapin's History, visited Carnarvon, believed that he had gained from the statue a just idea of what Edward had been, and brought away a drawing of it, which he carefully engraved.¹ From that portrait this is taken. Then imagine in our old castle of Flint this majestic King, in the full prime and vigour of life, surrounded by his learned Chancellor and his armour-clad noble warriors, the flower of the land, handing to the burgesses of these four favoured towns, these charters, conferring upon them the first real municipal liberties granted in Wales. Is not this a picture that our able young Flintshire artist, Mr. Leonard Hughes, could vividly depict, and when painted, might it not appropriately be placed in our little council-chamber at Flint?

In conclusion, from the evidences I have referred to in this paper, I claim for Flint the privilege of being the birthplace of municipal life in Wales.

¹ See *The Life and Reign of Edward I*, published by Messrs. Seeley and Co., Fleet Street.

FLINTSHIRE GENEALOGICAL NOTES.

BY ERNEST ARTHUR EBBLEWHITE, ESQ.

UNDER this heading will be given extracts from genealogical collections formed in North Wales since 1884, as well as abstracts of original evidences for the examination of which opportunities may occur from time to time.

I.—HOLYWELL.

The first volume of the Parish Registers of Holywell contains baptisms from 1677 to 1706, and from 1711 to 1713; marriages from 1677 to 1705, and from 1712 to 1713; and burials from 1677 to 1706, from 1708 to 1709, and from 1712 to 1714, all inclusive. It is evident that the records for the intervening years were omitted by the carelessness of Mr. Edward Parry, the Vicar, who was buried at Ruthin, co. Denbigh, on the 7th of September 1711.

With the assistance of the present Vicar, the Rev. Richard Owen Williams, M.A., I thoroughly examined the contents of the parish chest without finding any rough notes for the missing years. Between the years 1662 and 1710 the transcripts for the following dates have been preserved in the Diocesan Registry at St. Asaph: 1667, 1674 to 1676, 1678 to 1680, 1682, 1685 to 1688, 1690, 1693, 1696, 1698 to 1700, 1702, and 1704. The following extracts are from the first volume of the original Registers:—

Baptisms.

- 1679, Apr. 12, Margaret, dau. of Thomas Salisbury.
- 1679, Nov. 25, Edward, son of John Humphreys, Vicar.
- 1680, Nov. 15, Thomas, son of Thomas Salisbury.
- 1680, Feb. 28, Roger, son of Edward Bellis; and Mary, dau. of Harry Hughes.
- 1681, Nov. 16, Mary, dau. of Thomas Salisbury.

- 1683, Aug. 13, Margareta peregrini filia (*daughter of a stranger*).
1684, Oct. 25, Jane, dau. of Thomas Salisbury of Bagillt.
1684, Nov. 13, Alice, dau. of Thomas Kirk of Holywell (*i.e., the township*).
1686, Feb. 2, Edward, son of Hugh Jones; and Mary, dau. of Thomas Kirk of Holywell.
1688, July 15, Elizabeth, dau. of Jane of Denbigh, born 14 (*probably the child of a tramp*).
1689, Apr. 16, Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Salisbury of Bagillt, and Mary his wife (born 7).
1689, Dec. 15, Mary, dau. of Thomas Kirk of Holywell, and Elizabeth his wife (born 8).
1689, Feb. 18, Edward, son of Henry Lloyd of Colesill, and Margaret his wife; and Hamlett, son of Thomas Hughes of Bagillt, and Anne his wife.
1691, Oct. 2, Catherine, dau. of Thomas Salisbury of Bagillt, and Mary his wife (born 22 Sep.).
1692, Mar. 27, Thomas, son of Thomas Kirk and Elizabeth his wife, of Holywell.
1695, Jan. 2, Joseph, son of Singeon (*i.e., St. John*) Jones of Coleshill.
1698, Apr. 28, Dorothea Regina, dau. of Robert Stringfellow.
1701, Oct. 21, Peter, son of — Haughton, a stranger.
1704, Sep. 18, Mary, son of John Salisbury of Coleshill.
1705 (*an error for 1706*), Apr. 9, Mary, dau. of John Salisbury of Coleshill.
1712. On the 3rd September in this year a number of books left by Capt. Wenlock were distributed to poor children whose names are given.

Marriages.

- 1677, Dec. 28, Thomas Salisbury of Flint, and Jane Parry of Holywell.
1682, Apr. 17, Edward Hughes of St. Asaph, and Ellen verch Hugh of Holywell.
1682, July 30, John Newman and Grace Hughes of Holywell.
1683, Feb. 2, Thomas Kirk and Elizabeth Parry of Holywell.
1702, Oct. 29, John Salisbury and Mary Morris.
1702, Dec. 23, Edward Davies and Margaret Salisbury.
1712, Aug. 31, Edward Hughes of Flint Parish and Lucy Price of Holywell.
1712, Oct. 5, John Hughes and Margaret Salusbury.
1713, July 29, Robert Williams of Newmarket and Jane Hughes of Holywell.

Burials.

- 1680, Dec. 4, Thomas, son of Thomas Salisbury.
 1682, Mar. 22, Edward Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1684, Nov. 1, John Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1684, Dec. 14, Ursula, wife of James Yong of Bagillt.
 1686, Mar. 23, Jane, dau. of Roger Pyerce of Greenfield; and Penelope Hughes of Bagillt.
 1687, June 12, Mary, dau. of Thomas Kirk of Holywell.
 1689, Jan. 10, Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1691, May 10, Edward Hughes of Holywell, and Thomas ap Edward of Bagillt.
 1693, June 3, Mary, wife of Thomas Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1694, May 22, Robert Edwards, Clerk, Rector of Halkin.
 1696, Apr. 23, Thomas, son of Thomas Kirk of Holywell.
 1696, Aug. 14, Katharine Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1696, Oct. 3, Thomas Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1698, Aug. 20, a strange, poor woman died at the Well.
 1699, Nov. 22, Jonett, wife of Thomas Salisbury of Bagillt.
 1705, May 20, Thomas Hughes, a poor, strange child.¹
 1712, Aug. 10, Rog'r Kinaston, pap. pon. (*a Roman Catholic*).
 1713-4, Feb. 2, Edward Owens, "a Roman", of Holywell.
 1713-4, Feb. 23, a poor, strange Frenchman (*who died at Holywell*).
 1714, Apr. 6, William Parry, "a Roman", of Holywell.
 1714, June 28, Aaron the fiddler.

The following list of entries of Roman Catholic baptisms, marriages, and burials, is copied *verbatim*, in its entirety, from the last pages of the first Holywell Register, and considering the dearth of such records for the period (1698 to 1714) its value cannot be too highly estimated:—

"ROMAN CATHOLICS married anno 1700:—

- "Thomas Blunt Gen' et Maria Mostyn, May 21th.
 "Bapt' { Joh'es fil' Edv'i Owens, Julij 29, 1701.
 { Maria fil' Carbery Eggan, Aug. 5, 1701.

"Baptizat' 1700:—

- "Maria fil' Hugonis Lloyd, Sept. 4.
 "Elizabeth fil' Thomæ Blunt Gen' et Mariæ ux' baptizat' 6to die Augusti 1701.

¹ About this date a leaf has been cut out of the Register; and that there are some entries lost between 1706 and 1712 is proved by inscriptions on tombstones in the churchyard, *inter alia*, "Here lyeth the Bodys of 2 infants of Willm. Hughs the Smith's, Margaret & Elizabeth both died .. March 1708."

- " Holl[ywell] Samuel fil' Edv'i Ed[war]ds, 10br. 17mo, 1701.
- " Holl[ywell] Owenus fil' Thomae Parry, Feb. [Feb.] 1702.
- " Holl[ywell] Joh's fil' Carbery Egan, Dec. 1703.
- " Greenf[ield] Thomas fil' Thomas Blunt Gen', Julij 4, 1704.

" Buried, 1700-1 :—

- " Holl[ywell] Anna Trevor, feb. 3d.
- " Holl[ywell] Morris Pugh, feb. 6.
- " Holl[ywell] Petrus Williams Gen', 10br 1mo, 1701.
- " Holl[ywell] Maria Wynn, 10br 8, 1701.
- " Holl[ywell] Joh's Stanley, April 13.
- " Elizabeth fil' Humphredi Griffith, May 30.
- " Mrs. Martha Griffith, May 7, 1702.
- " Mrs. Mariana Mostyn, March 18, 1703.
- " Mrs. Frances Fitzherbert, Oct. 20.
- " Gulielmus Conway sepult' feb. 14, 1704.
- " Mrs. Bruin, a stranger, was bury'd at Holywell, June ye 6th, 1713.
- " Mr. Will' Wynne of Talacre was buried ye 15 of July 1713.
- " Holyw[ell] Mrs. Mary Roberts was buried Feb. 2, 1714.

" Roman Catholicks, 1697, baptiz':—

- " Joh's fil' Samueli Jones Gen', 13 [January].
- " Catherina fil' Thomas Lloyd, Janry. ...
- " Edv'us Rhock, March 25.
- " Holl[ywell] Edv'us fil' Georgij Tuson, 10br 23, '98.
- " Holl[ywell] Catherina fil' Rob'ti Savage, Jan. 8, '98.
- " Edv'us fil' Thomae Parry, Janry 16, '98.

" Bap' '99 :—

- " Holl[ywell] Thomas fil' Edvardi Edwards de Holywell.
- " Buried Joh'es Rhock, March 14

" '98 :—

- " Holl[ywell] Edv'us fil' Thomae Parry, Jary 27, '98.
- " Holl[ywell] Vrsula Thomas, Spinster, feb. 2, '98.
- " Holl[ywell], Thomas Parry, feb. 5, '98.
- " Holl[ywell] Margaret Jones, feb. 10.

" '99 :—

- " Margaret Jones, Ap. 3.
- " Thomas fil' Edv'i Ed[war]ds, feb. [February] 1mo.

" Married :—

- " David [query] Edwards et Maria ux' Martij 2.
- " ... Blunt Gen' et Maria Masten [erased].

"Buried, 1699 :—

- "Alexander Magdonell, Comes de Antrim Regn' Hiberniae, June 11. [*Alexander Macdonnell, third Earl of Antrim, some time M.P. for Wigan, aged 84.*]
 "Holl[*ywell*] Roda [*query*] Peters, August 19.
 "Brinf[*ord*] Joan Evans, Aug. 13.

"Roman Catholicicks, 1704 :—

- "Bapt' Tho' fil' Thomae Clownsley, June 22.
 "... fil' Henry de Greenfield, Jul' 10.
 "Elizabeth, fil' Joh'is Rhodes, Jan. 29.
 "Charles fil' Hugonis Lloyd, March 11, 17[0]4-5.

"Sepult':—

- "Thomas fil' Thomae Clownsley, July 6.
 "Anna Davies, July 9.
 "Edmund fil' Carbury Fagan, 9br. 20, 1705.

"Bapt':—

- "Joseph fil' Griffith Griffith, May 13.
 "Greenf[*ield*] Joh'es fil' Thomae Blunt Gen', October 27.
 "Holl[*ywell*] Maria fil' Joh'is Kenrick, Oct. 28.

"Married :—

- "Sam' Thorp et Luce Millington, May 4.

"Buried :—

- "Ellin Conway, Oct. 4.
 "Holl[*ywell*] Gulielmus Christopher, Decemb. 23.

The second volume contains a complete record of the baptisms, marriages, and burials for the years 1714 to 1741 inclusive, and I append a few extracts :—

Marriages.

- 1715, Jan. 10, Hamlet Hughes and Margaret Price.
 1716, Dec. 22, John Ames and
 1717, Dec. 23, Robert Hughes and Elizabeth Bartley.
 1718, Aug. 17, Robert Bellis and Mary Hughes.
 1718-9, Jan. 17, Richard Roberts of Flint, and Elizabeth Hughes of Bagillt.
 1719-20, Jan. 31, Hamnaid [*Hamned, alias Hamlet*] Hughes and Alice Williams.
 1720, May 21, William Taylor and Catherine Hughes.
 1720, Nov. 4, Charles Hughes of Northop, and Mary Humphreys of this parish.

- 1720, Aug. 24, Mr. John Wynne of Holywell and Mrs. Anne Hughes of Lligwy.
 1722, Mar. 31, Thos. Hughes and Elizabeth Gruffith of Bagillt.
 1722, Apr. 27, Thomas Hughes of Whitford and Blanche Edwards of Holywell.
 1722, Nov. 16, Hugh Wynne and Margaret Hughes.
 1724, Bagillt, Robert Davies and Margaret Salisbury.
 1725, July 10, Bagillt, William Jones and Mary Salusbray.
 1725, July 16, John Salusbray and ... Roberts.
 1725, Feb. 21, John Hughes of Whitford and Elizabeth Klownslley of Holywell.
 1738, May 7, Thomas Swetnom and Margaret Hughes.

Baptisms.

- 1714, Oct. 20, James, son of Ellis Price, Vicar.
 1720, Feb. 3, Charles Young, a Papist child.
 1723, Oct. 27, Martha, dau. of Thos. Hughes of Holywell, Esq.
 1724, Aug. 5, Thomas, son of Ignatius Blood of Greenfield.
 1724, Oct. 24, Edward, son of Mr. Thos. Hughes of Greenfield.
 1726, June 19, Jane, dau. of Andrew Hughes [*at first written Jones, and then altered*] of Coleshill.
 1726, Aug. 11, Elizabeth, dau. of John Salusbray of Coleshill.
 1728, Oct. 29, John, son of John Salisbury of Coleshill
 1731, Aug. 8, Anne, dau. of Hammond (*doubtless an error for Hamned*) Hughes.
 1732, Oct. 8, Thomas, son of Hamned Hughes of Holywell.
 1733, Apr. 15, Edward, son of John Salisbury of Coleshill.
 1733, June 4, John, son of Mr. Thomas Hughes of Greenfield.
 1735, Sept. 21, Edward, son of Mr. Thomas Hughes.
 1736, Mar. 24, Robert, son of John Salsbury.
 1737, July 31, Joseph, son of Hamned Hughes.
 1740, Apr. 7, Mary, dau. of John Salisbury.
 1740, July 20, Jane, dau. of John Hamlet.

Burials.

- 1716, Feb. 7, Mr. William Hughes. [*He left a widow, Catherine, but no children, and three sisters, Anne Cope, Dorothy Edwards, and Jane Wynne.*]
 1720, Oct. 30, Mr. Green, a reputed Popish priest.
 1720, Nov. 6, Water [*Walter*] Weighed [*Wade*] of Holywell.
 1722, Apr. 5, Mr. Edward Hughes of Greenfield.
 1722, Apr. 19, Owen Hughes of Holywell [*a saddler, who married Alice Alexander of Audley, Stafford*].
 1724, Mar. 11, Doctor Bool of Holywell.
 1728, Mar. 22, Mary Salusbury.

- 1729, Dec. 3, Margaret Salusbury.
 1730, Aug. 15, a girl of Ignatius Blood's.
 1730, Sept. 23, Jane Salusbury.
 1731, Sept. 20, Mary Salusbury.
 1737, Apr. 8, Griffith Hughes, a stranger.
 1739, June 10, Margaret Salusbury.
 1740, Jan. 14, Hamlet Hughes.

The third volume contains baptisms and burials between 1741 and 1772, and marriages between 1741 and 1754 ; but I have only examined the Register to 1750 :—

Baptisms.

- 1744, Mar. 6, Robert, a bastard son of Robert Hughes and Elizabeth Sheldon.
 1747, July 9, Jane and Margaret, daughters of Hugh Hughes and Jane his wife.
 1747, Aug. 2, John and Roger, sons of Hugh Hughes and Elizabeth his wife.
 1747, Oct. 25, Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Hughes and Liddia his wife.

Marriages.

- 1742, June 3, Thomas Edwards of Skeiviog, and Anne Hughes of Holywell.
 1743, Aug. 23, George Hughes and Catherine Wynne, both of Skeiviog.
 1745, Apr. 15, Foulk Hughes of St. Asaph, and Margaret Middleton of Holywell.
 1745, June 15, Samuel Shefton and Margaret Hughes, both of Nannerch.
 1747, June 30, George Chambers and Emma Hughes.

Burials.

- 1743, Feb. 21, Meredydd Hughes.
 1750, Nov. 17, John Salisbury.

While waiting in the church for my friend the Vicar, on the occasion of one of my visits in the autumn of 1886, I copied the following from a mural tablet :—

“ By leave of Paul Panton, Esqr.,—Near this place is interred the remains of Mrs. Jane Hughes, widow of the Revd. Charles Hughes, Rector of Coln St. Denis, Gloucestershire ; Youngest Daughter and Coheiress of John Kirrill, Esq., of the County of Kent. She died Sepr. 1st, 1791, aged 63 Years.”

Her body was buried in Holywell Churchyard.

In June 1888 I again examined the parish registers for all entries of the name of Wynne (whether baptisms, marriages, or burials) between 1677 and 1735, and I here give the list from the original records, collated with the Bishop's transcripts at St. Asaph:—

- 1685, June 28, John Griffith of Llanelian, clerk, and Mary Wynne of Llanvairtalhaiarn, married.
- 1688, April 19, Henry Parry of Tywysog (*Tywysog*), Esquire, buried. [*Rose Parry of Tywysog was the mother of Mr. William Wynne of Mold, Clerk of the Peace for Flintshire.*]
- 1697, Aug. 23, Hollywell. John Wynne and Catherine Wynne, married.
- 1698, Oct. 18, William, son of John Wynne of Hollywell, gent., and Catherine his wife, bapt.
- 1703, Mar. 29, Jane, dau. of George Wynne, buried.
- 1704, April 30, Thomas, son of George Wynne of Bagillt, bapt.
- 1712, May 10, Edward, son of Edward Wynne of Twll and Catherine his wife, bapt.
- 1713, Nov. 18 Jo., a son of Jo. Wynne of Skiviog, bapt.
- 1716, Aug. 25, Thomas, son of Edward Wynne, bapt.
- 1720, May 30, Peter Wynne and Ellinor [*Ellin*] Pyerce, married.
- 1721, Aug. 23, Mrs. Hannah Wynne of Garyan Llynn, buried.
- 1722, Nov. 22, Mary Wynne of Bagillt, buried.
- 1723, April 24, John Roberts and Mary Wynne, married.
- 1723, Oct. 24, Elizabeth, dau. of Mr. John Wynne of Brynford, bapt.
- 1723, Oct. 26, Richard Davies and Mary Wynne, married.
- 1725, April 28, Mary, dau. of John Wynne of Holywell, bapt.
- 1725, May 13, Hugh Wynne of Holywell, buried.
- 1725, May 17, Thomas Wynne of Holywell, an infant, buried.
- 1725, July 14, John Wynne of Holywell, an infant, buried.
- 1725, Sept. 8, Robert Wynne of Bagillt, an infant, buried.
- 1726,¹ Feb. 18, Hanah, dau. of John Wynne of Holywell, bapt.
- 1727, June 20, Jane, dau. of Edward Wynne of Holywell, bapt.
- 1727[-8], Jan. 1, John, son of Mr. John Wynne, bapt.
- 1728, Dec. 14, John, son of John Wynne, bapt.
- 1729, Mar. 29, George Wynne and Edward Jones, buried. [*Entered on the Transcript Rolls for both 1728 and 1729.*]
- 1729, Oct. 12, Elizabeth, dau. of Edward Wynne, bapt.
- 1730, July 11, William, son of Mr. John Wynne, bapt. [*This was Mr. William Wynne of Mold, Clerk of the Peace for Flintshire, who died 26 March 1792, and was buried at Mold.*]

¹ The transcripts for this year are missing, as well as for the years 1731, 1732, and 1734.

1733, Sept. 2, Elizabeth Wynne, buried.

1733[-4], Feb. 24, Mary Wynne, buried.

1735, Aug. 15, William, son of Edward Wynne, bapt.

In addition to the above there are four entries as to Wynne on preceding pages of the present article.

The following are abstracts of all the probates of wills and letters of administration granted in the Probate Registry at St. Asaph from 1660 (when the calendars commence) to 1780, as to Wynne of Holywell :—

(a) 17 Feb. 1701-2. Letters of adm'on in the estate of Mary Wynne of Holywell, spinster (*who was buried 8th Dec. previous, vide p. 123 ante*), granted to Jane Edwards of the same, spinster, principal creditor, the sureties being Thomas Morris of Caerwys, yeoman, and John Footman of Holywell, yeoman. Seal used by administratrix,.....*a chevron erm. between three Saracens' heads.*

(b) 22nd May 1725. Probate of the will of Hugh Wynne of Holywell, barber [*who was buried 13th May previous, vide p. 127 ante*], which was dated 16th April previous, was granted to Margaret Wynne, formerly Hughes, widow, the executrix. [*They were married 16th Nov. 1722, vide p. 125 ante.*] The testator mentions his brothers and sisters, Thomas, John, Elizabeth, Mary, and Florence. The witnesses were Thomas Edwards, Thomas Totty, and Jeffrey Williams, clerk.

(c) 25th Nov. 1736. Letters of adm'on in the estate of Edward Wynne of Holywell, saddler, granted to Elizabeth Wynne of the same, widow, the relict, the sureties being George Colley, gent., and Andrew Edwards, blacksmith, both of Dyserth.

(d) Letters of adm'on in the estate of Peter Wynne of Holywell, gardener, 1739.

(e) 8th Dec. 1740. Letters of adm'on in the estate of Ellin Wynne of Holywell, widow [*late wife of Peter Wynne. See her marriage in 1720, at p. 127 ante*], granted to Roger Pierce of Holywell, tailor, the brother, and Barbara Pierce, otherwise Davies, the sister, the sureties (to the bond dated 24th Nov.) being Thomas Pierce, otherwise Pyers, of St. Asaph, gent., and Edward Davies of Holywell, millwright.

REPORT OF KERRY MEETING.

(Continued from p. 77.)

EXCURSION, THURSDAY, AUGUST 13TH.

Route.—It must be borne in mind that the chief object which the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland had in view when they invited their Welsh brethren to cross the St. George's Channel, was not to show them the most lovely scenery in the British Islands, but to afford a long-wished-for opportunity of comparing the early Christian remains of the two countries. In order to accomplish the main purpose for which the meeting was held, it was necessary to leave Killarney behind, with many regrets, and make for the western promontory of the County Kerry, occupied by the Barony of Corkaguiny, a district probably richer than any other throughout the whole of Ireland in the earliest forms of ecclesiastical structures and inscribed monuments.

A special train, starting at 7.30 A.M., on August 13, took the whole party from Killarney to Tralee (twenty miles northward), the distance being accomplished in three-quarters of an hour. The remaining portion of the journey was on the new light railway from Tralee to Dingle (thirty-eight miles south-westward), taking about three hours. The railway is constructed to a 3-ft. gauge, and follows the course of the high road almost the whole way, rising at the summit level to 800 ft. above the sea. The line takes a westerly direction from Tralee along the north shore of the promontory, as far as Camp, where it turns to the south-westward, crossing the range of hills diagonally to Anascaul, and then continues its westerly course along the southern shore of the promontory to Dingle, the whole distance being thirty-eight miles.

The train was brought to a standstill at a point eight miles west of Tralee, just before the line commences to ascend the pass through the mountains, to enable the members to inspect the ruins of Killelton Church, which lie a few hundred yards up the hillside, to the south of the railway.

Time did not allow of anything but the most cursory examination of Killelton Church, and getting once more into the train, the journey was continued up the tedious ascent. Unfortunately, a dense sea-fog came on, obscuring everything, to the great disappointment of most of the party. The last break in the journey was at

Ballintaggart, two miles south-east of Dingle, where the Societies were met by the reception committee, who accompanied them to the ancient burial-ground, with its wonderful collection of Ogam monuments. On arrival at Dingle, about 1 P.M., after inspecting the Ogam inscribed stone on the townland of Emlagh West, near the railway station, the members adjourned to Benner's and Lee's Hotels, where sleeping accommodation was provided for this and the succeeding night.

After luncheon an excursion was made by carriages to Kilmalkedar, five miles north-westward. The town of Dingle does not leave a favourable impression on the mind of the visitor, its streets being particularly filthy, and the houses having a wretched, tumble-down appearance, without the atoning merit of being picturesque. The most imposing public building is the police barracks, a red brick monstrosity, hideous enough to have been designed by Lord Grimthorpe himself, when in playful mood. The only redeeming point about Dingle is that excellent lobsters are to be bought there at a very low price. The first mile out of the town, to the west, is along the side of the harbour, now concealed by a deep pall of sea-fog, and its existence only to be guessed at from the pleasant odour of sea-weed. The next two miles is along a dreary stretch of perfectly straight road, going in a north-westerly direction across the boggy plain at the foot of the mountains. Beyond this the ridge of hills is crossed at a height of about 700 ft. above the sea, and the mist rolling away, discloses the sandy beach of Smerwick Harbour lying below in the distance. The landscape is very like that of Pembrokeshire or Cardiganshire, quite devoid of trees amongst the hedgerows or elsewhere, so that the divisions between the fields assume an undue prominence, looking like the reticulations on a surveyor's map; and were it not for the beautiful variations of colour, and the exquisite forms of the contours of the hills, the effect would be hardly less monotonous. The small group of houses constituting the village of Kilmalkedar is situated on a hill-side, overlooking Smerwick Harbour, and behind it, five miles to the north-east, Brandon Mountain rises to a height of over 3,000 ft. Almost at the top of Brandon Mountain is still to be seen the ruined oratory of St. Brendan, the navigator, about whose voyages almost as many marvellous stories are told in mediæval literature as about Sindbad the Sailor in the *Arabian Nights*.

That saints were more numerous in Corkaguiny in old days than at present is attested by the following legend, still firmly believed in the locality. Once upon a time there was a procession of saints from Kilmalkedar Church to St. Brendan's oratory, and the leader of the procession discovered to his great annoyance, on arriving at his destination, that he had left his service-book behind him; so the word was passed down the line to have it brought, and when it reached the last man it was found he was only just leaving Kilmalkedar. He, therefore, went into the church, fetched out the missing book, and it was then passed from hand to hand right up to the top

of Brandon Mountain. Now, whatever grain of truth there may be in this story, the fact remains that in and around Kilmalkedar there are a sufficiently large number of specimens of the handiwork of the early Celtic Christians to give colour to the belief that saints were as plentiful as blackberries, or—if treated after the fashion of the statistical fiend—to reach from Kilmalkedar to Brandon Hill.

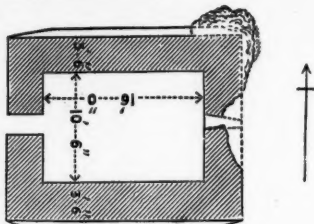
Just before reaching Kilmalkedar a halt was made for a short time to examine the circular stone fort of Caherdorgan and its beehive cells, close to the road on the west side. After seeing the Church and other antiquities at Kilmalkedar, a walk of a mile south-west brought the party to the Oratory of Gallerus, further down the hillside and nearer to Smerwick Harbour. Again ascending the hill the carriages were joined at a point on the highroad a mile nearer to Dingle, and the return journey made by the same route by which we had come. In spite of the late hour and the sea fog, which was still as dense as ever, some of the more adventurous spirits added two miles to an already long drive in order not to lose the opportunity of visiting the Oratory and Ogam pillar at Temple Managhan, three miles north-west of Dingle.



Ruins of Killelton Church.

Killelton Church.—The ruins of the ancient Church of Killelton are situated eight miles west of Tralee, on the northern slope of the Slieve Mish Mountains, facing Tralee Bay, a few hundred yards south of the narrow gauge railway, which here runs parallel with the high road, following the shore of the bay (Ordnance Map, 1-in. scale, Sheet 161). This interesting little building has been well described by Mr. J. P. Lynch, M.R.I.A., in the *Journal* of the Royal

Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. The accompanying illustrations have been kindly lent by that Society.

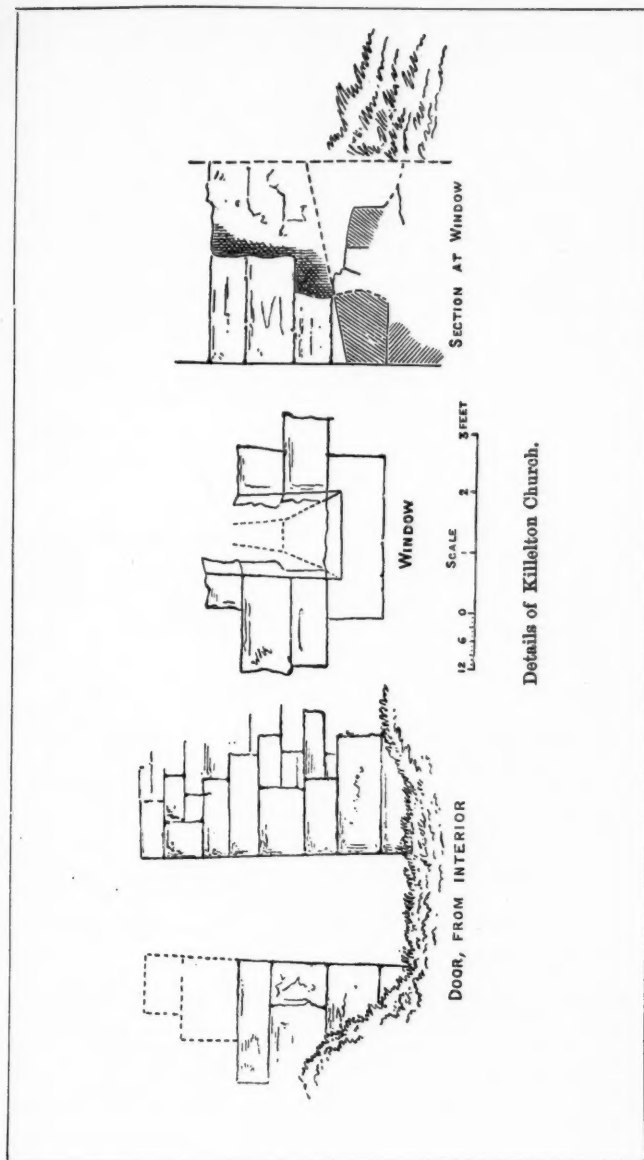


Plan of Killelton Church.

The plan of the church consists of a single rectangular chamber, 16 ft. long by 10 ft. 6 ins. wide, inside the walls being 3 ft. 6 ins. thick. The only openings in the walls are a door at the west end and a window opposite to it at the east end. Both door and window have inclined jambs. The shapes of the heads of the openings can only be guessed at, as the upper part of the wall is ruined. The structure is of a very early type, and is of dry rubble without cement. The hinge and socket, in which the door turned, are of stone, and can still be seen.

Ballintaggart Killeen and Ogam Inscribed Stones.—The ancient disused burial-ground, or Killeen, of Ballintaggart is situated a mile and a half south-east of Dingle, on some rising ground to the east of Dingle Harbour, and a few minutes' walk from the narrow gauge railway, on the south side (Ordnance Map, 1-in. scale, Sheet 171). This cemetery belongs to a class of which there are numerous examples in the south-west of Ireland. They are called "Keels", "Killeens", "Killenas", or "Kealuraghs", and are now used only for the burial of unbaptised infants and suicides.¹ Some difference of opinion exists amongst experts as to whether these cemeteries were, in the first instance, pagan or Christian. In the case of the one at Ballintaggart, the meaning of the name, i.e., "Priests' town", would seem to indicate a Christian origin, although no trace of any church or other building now remains. The Killeen is an approximately circular enclosure, measuring 88 ft. in diameter one way and 98 ft. across in another direction at right angles to the former. The enclosing fence is a low stone wall with a ditch on the outside, and backed up with earth on the inside. The hedge on the top is composed chiefly of fuchsia bushes. The fence is comparatively modern, being not more than a hundred years old. The ground within the enclosure is higher in the centre than at the sides, and is covered with innumerable tiny graves, having small stones at the head and foot, marking the places where unbaptised infants have been interred from

¹ Brash's *Ogam Monuments*, p. 87, and Sir S. Ferguson's *Ogam Inscriptions*, p. 27.



Details of Killelton Church.

time to time. Strewn about at intervals on the uneven humpy surface of the ground are nine rounded, water-worn boulders of old red sandstone, inscribed on the edges with Ogams, and in three cases marked with an incised cross of early form on one of the broad faces. The first person who appears to have noticed these inscriptions was Mr. Henry Pelham, whose account was published in the *Vallancey Collections* (vol. vi, p. 219). They have since been copied by Mr. Windele, in 1838; by Mr. Hitchcock; by Mr. Rolt Brash,¹ in 1868; and by Sir S. Ferguson². The last-named archæologist gives the most correct versions. The following is a description of the Ogam-inscribed stones at Ballintaggart, with the latest readings and notes by Professor Rhys:³—

(No. 1) Brash No. 6; Ferguson A; 3 ft. 6 ins. long, by 1 ft. 4½ ins. wide, by 9½ ins. thick; having on one of the broad faces an incised cross, thus—

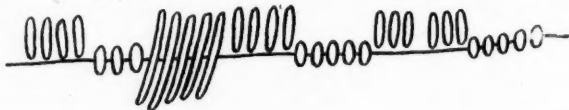


inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom, upwards—



T R I A M A Q A M A I L A G N I

and on the right edge, reading from the bottom, upwards—



C U R C I T T I

I construe the first line to mean Triam Maquam Mailagni—Trium Filiorum Mailagni, and Mailagn-i is the name which appears later as

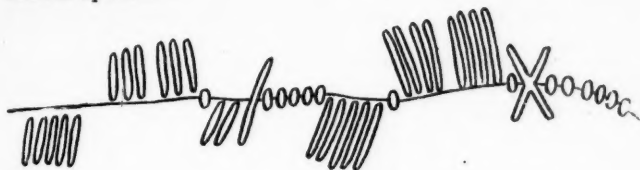
¹ *Ogam Monuments*, p. 200.

² *Ogam Inscriptions*, p. 31.

³ The dimensions were taken last summer with great care, and the illustrations are from rubbings reduced one-eighth linear by photography. The stones are taken in the order in which they lay on the ground, going round sunwise, from left to right. The illustrations were prepared quite independently of Prof. Rhys' readings, which accounts for a few discrepancies. The stem-line of the Ogams is an imaginary one, as the angles of the stones are rounded, and not square.

Maelán. The name *Curcitti* stands possibly for an older *Curcittii*, the genitive of a *Curcittios*; in that case its later form is *Cuircthe*, which occurs in Stokes' *Tripartite Life of Patrick* (p. 198). I take the *tti*—*thi* to be an affix, intended, perhaps, to make a diminutive, and *Curcitti* is, doubtless, derived from the simpler name, whose genitive is *Curci*. Other instances are *Callitti*, *Llotiti*, *Logitti*, and *Quigitti*.—J. R.

(No. 2) Brash No. 9; Furguson B; 3 ft. 6 ins. long, by 1 ft. 1 in. wide, by 9½ ins. thick; inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—



N (E) T T A L M I N A C C A X O E

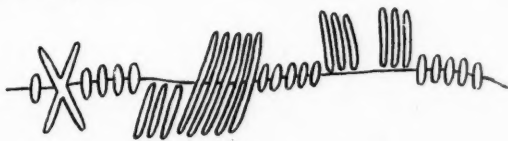
and continuing round the top and down the right edge—



M A Q Q I M U C O I D U

This stone is imperfect at both ends and obscure to me, and so is the name in No. 3.—J. R.

(No. 3) Brash No. 1; Ferguson C; 3 ft. 1 in. long, by 1 ft. 2 ins. wide, by 8 ins. thick; inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—

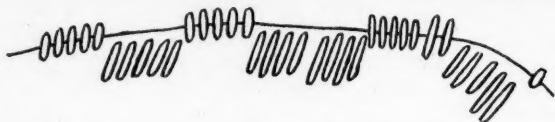


A X E V R I T T I

(No. 4) Brash No. 7; Ferguson D; 3 ft. 1 in. long, by 1 ft. 2 ins. wide, by 11 ins. thick; having on one of the broad faces an incised cross, thus—



and inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—



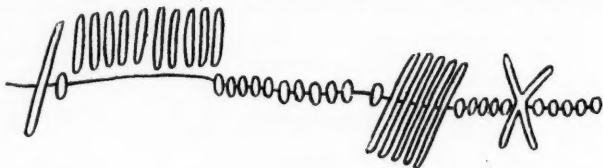
I N I S S I O N A S¹

The name Inission-as, occurs as *Inisian* in the Bodmin Manuscripts (see the *Revue Celtique*, i, 337).—J. R.

(No. 5) Brash No. 2; Ferguson E; 3 ft. 6 ins. long, by 1 ft. 2 ins. wide, by 10 ins. thick; having on one of the broad faces an incised cross, thus—

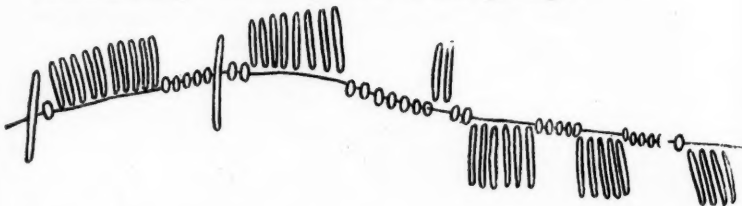


and inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—



M A Q Q I I A R I X I(?)

and continuing round the top and down the right edge—



M A Q Q I M^U C C O I D O V V I N I A S

Iaripi, if that be the right transliteration, may perhaps be the name *Erp*, and I may cite the Bodleian MS., Laud 610, fol. 95b², where one finds a mention of a *Cathmol mc Hirp*. As to *Dovvinias*, see my note at p. 53 of this volume. The name occurs in the Dunmore Ógam as *Dovinia*, with *Mu* prefixed to it, possibly

¹ The four strokes of the final S are missing in my rubbing.—J. R. A.

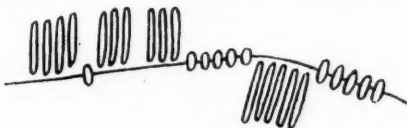
Mo. I took the trouble to revisit the stone this summer, as a friend had questioned my reading of the *Mu* or *Mo*; the result was that I was thoroughly convinced of the substantial correctness of my previous reading, though I am now inclined to read *Mu* rather than *Mo*, but not *mucoi* or *avi*. A third instance of *Dovinia* occurs on a stone at Lord Ventry's residence near Dingle. The inscription in question was shown me last summer for the first time. Two or three keen Ogmists spent some time in the rain with me trying to read it, but we failed to make out the middle portion. It begins with *Maqqui*, and ends with *Mucoe Dovinia*. Under more favourable circumstances I think the whole could be made out.—J. R.

(No. 6) Brash No. 3; Ferguson F; 3 ft. 2 ins. long, by 1 ft. 3 ins. wide, by 10 ins. thick; inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—



D O V E T I M A Q Q I

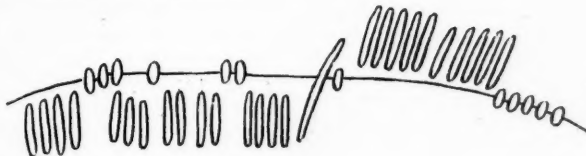
and continuing round the top and down the right edge—



C A T T I N I

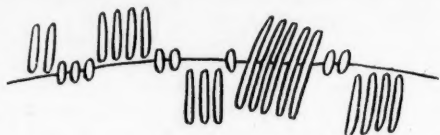
Both names are otherwise unknown to me, but I think I detect *Doveti* in the *Doid* of the name *Maeldoid*, of which *The Four Masters* give two instances from the seventh century, and a *Maeldoith* from the tenth; these should mean *Calvus Doveti*, "the tonsured man or slave of D." But who was *Dovet*? Can his name possibly be a form of the Biblical *David*? I have nothing to say of *Cattini* except that I do not recollect meeting with it elsewhere.—J. R.

(No. 7) Brash No. 4; Ferguson G; 2 ft. 10 ins. long, by 1 ft. 3 ins. wide, by 9 ins. thick; inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—



S U V A L L O S M A Q Q I

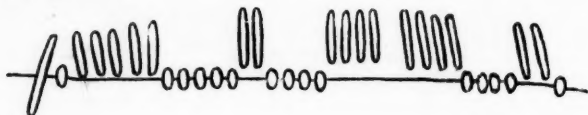
and continuing round the top and down the right edge—



D U C O V A R O S

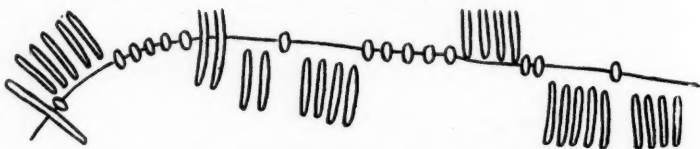
Much the same remark applies to this. The *a* of *Suwallos* forbids my equating it with the Welsh *Hywel, Howel*.—J. R.

(No. 8) Brash No. 5; Ferguson H; 4 ft. 2 ins. long by 1 ft. wide, by 1 ft. thick; inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—



M A Q I D E C C E D A

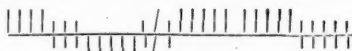
and continuing round the top and down the right edge—



M A Q I G L A S I C O N A S

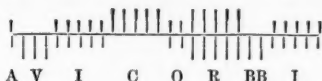
Decceda is a well-known name, but *Glasiconas* was, to me, a new name when I examined the stone in 1883, for Brash (p. 203) had read it *Siconas*. It took me and Mrs. Rhys some time to make it out, and I am very glad to find that Mr. Allen has independently arrived at the same reading. It is the name which appears in later Irish as *Glasiuc* (see Stokes' *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, p. 162), which yields the genitive *Glascon*, the exact equivalent of the Ogmic form at Ballintaggart. (See *The Four Masters*, A.D. 920.)—J. R.

(No. 9) Brash No. 8; Ferguson I; 3 ft. 10 ins. long, by 1 ft. 6 ins. wide, by 9 ins. thick; inscribed on the left edge, reading from the bottom upwards—



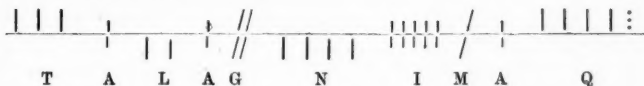
C U N A M A Q Q I

and continuing round the top and down the right edge—



No. 9. *Cunamaqqi avi Corbbi* would be, in later Irish, *Connmhaic ui Chorb* (the grave of Connmhac O'Corb). *Queniloc-i* on the Temple Gel stone I cannot identify, unless it be *Ceallaich*, Anglicised Kelley, corresponding to a nominative *Ceallach*. (Compare *Colla* for *Condla* or *Connla*.)

Emlagh West Ogam-inscribed Stone.—The townland of Emlagh West is situated half a mile from Dingle, near the railway station. (Ordnance Map, 1-in. scale, Sheet 171.) The Ogam-inscribed pillar stands against the fence of a field in the townland, and is stated to have been either a lintel or jamb of a rath-cave formerly existing on the same site, but now removed. It is an irregularly-shaped monolith of compact clay slate, 4 ft. 6 ins. long, by 1 ft. 3 ins. wide, by 9 ins. thick, inscribed with Ogams on one angle near the end, which is broken, as follows —



For descriptions see Rolt Brash's *Ogam Monuments*, p. 216; and Sir S. Ferguson's *Ogam Inscriptions*, p. 36. *Talagn-i* becomes later *Talán* (see Stokes' *Patrick*, p. 108).—J. R.

Kilmalkedar Church.—The Hiberno-Romanesque Church of Kilmalkedar, which is undoubtedly one of the most interesting of its kind in Ireland, is situated five miles north-west of Dingle, on a stony hillside overlooking Smerwick Harbour. The village, if such it can be called, consists of a few mean houses clustered round the church. The immediate neighbourhood is extraordinarily rich in ancient remains of all kinds, amongst which the following may be specified, beginning with the earliest:—(1) Several beehive cells, in ruins, in the fields to the north-west of the church; (2) a pagan fort, enclosing beehive cells, called Caherdorgan, close to the road to Dingle, on the west side of it, half a mile south of the church; (3) a stone-roofed cell or Oratory (?) amongst the cottages just behind the church; (4) the Oratory of Kilmalkedar, a quarter of a mile west of the church; (5) the oratory of Gallerus, one mile south-west of the church; (6) the Castle of Gallerus, between the Oratory of Gallerus and Smerwick Harbour, one mile south-west of the church; (7) the Chancellor's House, a quarter of a mile south of the church; and (8) some conventual buildings, close to the church, on the north side. In the churchyard at Kilmalkedar are several interesting memorials, consisting of a cross, a sundial ornamented with Celtic key

patterns, an Ogam-inscribed pillar, two stones with Irish minuscule inscriptions, and several holed stones. There is also another inscribed pillar close to the Oratory of Gallerus.

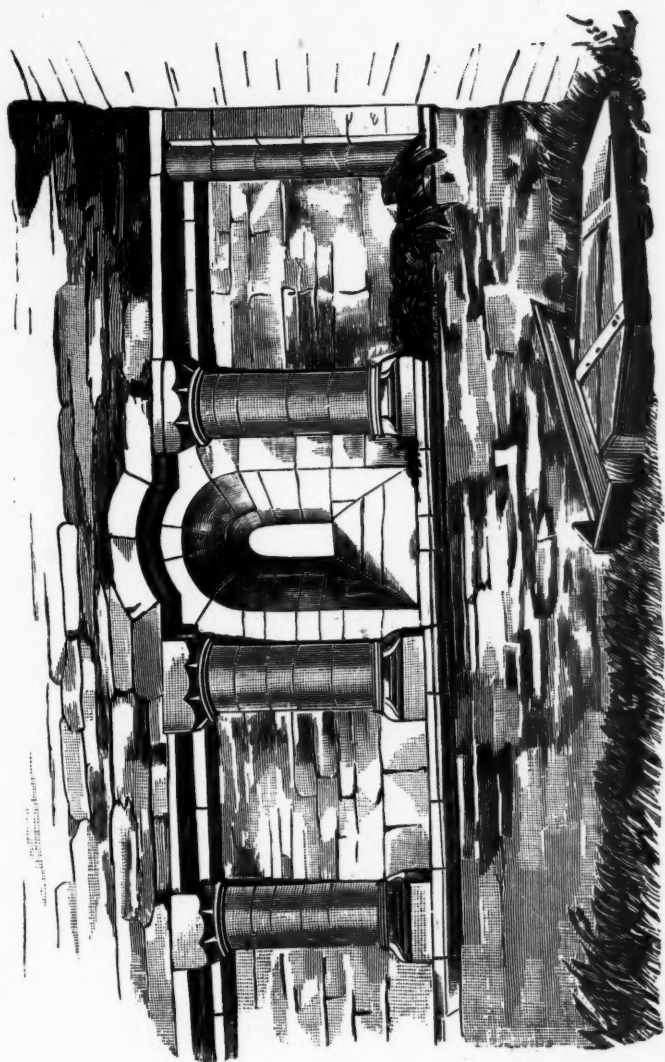
The original Church of Kilmalkedar appears to have been what is at present the nave, and it had a small sort of apsidal recess at the east end, not unlike the one at Cormac's Chapel, Cashel. The apse must have been pulled down soon after it was built to make room for a larger chancel. There are no historical data by which the age of the original structure or of this alteration can be definitely fixed, but the style of the nave corresponds with what would be called Norman in England, and the chancel is also of the round-arched period, although possibly somewhat later than the rest. The junction of the apse with the east wall of the nave is still to be seen.

The nave is 27 ft. 2 ins. long, by 17 ft. 3 ins. wide, and the chancel 14 ft. 4 ins. long by 11 ft. 4 ins. wide, inside dimensions. The nave has a highly enriched western doorway, and a single plain round-headed window of small size in the north and south walls; the chancel has one round-headed window in the east wall and another in the south wall, their length being greater as compared with their widths than in the case of the nave windows, showing a nearer approximation to the long slender lancets of the thirteenth century.

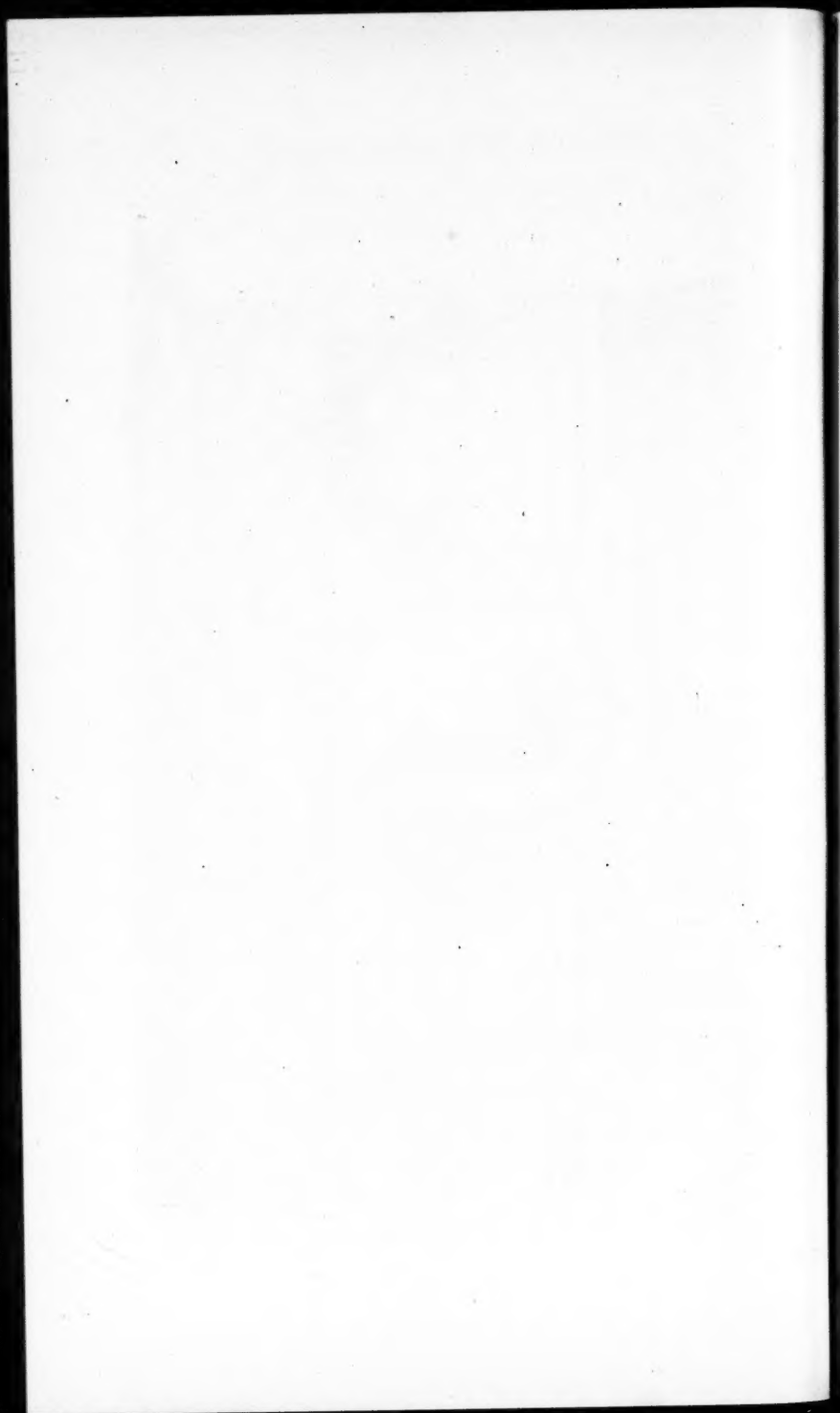
The chancel-arch is semicircular, 5 ft. 3 ins. wide at the level of the springing, and has two orders of mouldings, the inner one ornamented with chevrons, and the outer one with a bold roll and pelleted band. The soffit of the arch is enriched with beautifully carved diamond-shaped rosettes, similar to those on the north porch of Cormac's Chapel, Cashel.

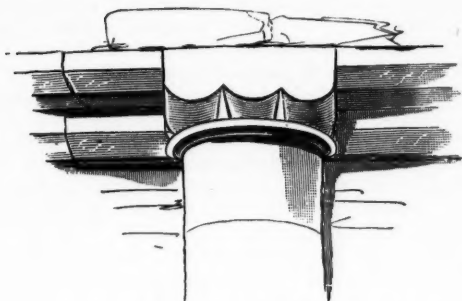
The western doorway is a fine example of the Hiberno-Romanesque style, differing from Anglo-Norman doorways of the same period in having inclined jambs, a feature indicating a survival from the flat-headed openings of the early stone-roofed oratories, which always present this peculiarity. The doorway is 6 ft. 3 ins. high, by 3 ft. 1½ in. wide at the bottom, and 2 ft. 11 ins. wide at the top. It has a plain tympanum and a round arch with two orders of mouldings, both ornamented with chevrons, but having the zigzags in different planes. The hood moulding is decorated with a row of small projecting knobs, or bosses, like those on the Aghadoe doorway, and terminates in a beast's head at each side. There is also a human head in the centre of the hood moulding, at the top of the arch, and another worked on the tympanum on the interior.

The north and south walls of the nave have on each side a row of five projecting half-round columns, with cushion capitals, dividing the wall-space immediately below the springing of the roof into rectangular panels, and giving the effect of arcading, but without the arches. (See illustrations from the late Mr. G. V. du Noyer's drawings.)

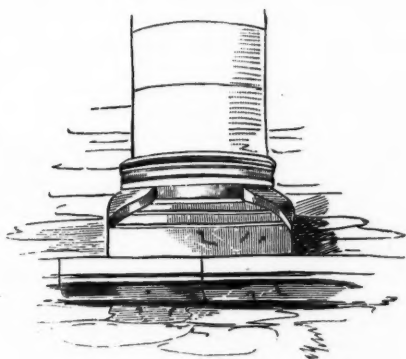


KILMALKEDAR CHURCH, ARCADE INSIDE.





Capital of Arcade Column, Kilmalkedar.



Base of Arcade Column, Kilmalkedar.

Both the nave and chancel had stone roofs laid in horizontal courses, with the stones overlapping one another, so as gradually to converge from the side-walls towards the central ridge, and thus cover the span without the aid of an arch of any kind. Portions of this roof are still to be seen next the eaves and against the gables, but the whole of the rest has fallen in, owing to the inherent weakness of its method of construction. A similar fate has overtaken the roof of St. Macdara's Church, illustrated in Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (p. 190).

The early buildings at Kilmalkedar are most instructive, as enabling us to trace the gradual development of the Christian stone-roofed church from the pagan beehive cell. The stages of this development seem to be as follows :—(1) We have the beehive cell, circular in plan inside and outside, with dry-built walls converging

towards the top, the courses being laid horizontally, each one overlapping the one below it; (2) a similar structure, but rectangular in plan inside and circular outside, as in the case of the cells on Skellig Michael; (3) a similar structure, rectangular in plan inside and outside, the walls having a straight sloping batter at the bottom to form the side-walls, and a convex curved batter at the top to form the roof, as in the case of the oratories at Kilmalkedar, Gallerus, and Temple Gèl; (4) a mortar-built stone-roofed church, having vertical walls and sloping roof, the whole being laid in horizontal courses, as in the case of Kilmalkedar Church. In looking at a cross-section of the latter, the weak point in the construction will at once be apparent. When the side walls were given separate existence, independent from the roof, by making them vertical, instead of sloping inwards the whole way from the ground up to the ridge, the span of the roof was thereby increased and the masonry of the side-walls was unduly weakened at the point where the side walls end and the roof begins. In consequence of this defect the roofs of all the churches constructed on this principle have fallen in. As soon as the use of the arch became familiar to the Irish builders an obvious remedy suggested itself, namely, to support the roof on a barrel vault, leaving a small chamber between the top of the vault and the underside of the roof. Thus an entirely new and original type of structure was evolved, consisting of two chambers, one above the other. In the later and more perfect examples, like Cormac's Chapel, on the Rock of Cashel, the upper chamber was considerably enlarged, and roofed with a pointed barrel vault, but the horizontal courses were still preserved on the outside, as the last remnant of what was derived from the pagan style of building.

In looking at the exterior of the nave of Kilmalkedar Church, a remarkable feature, peculiar to Irish architecture of the twelfth century, will be observed, namely, the prolongation of the side-walls so as to form pilaster-like projections beyond the gable-walls. The stone roof projects in the same way, but not quite so far, and the junction at the level of the string-course at the eaves of the roof presents a very curious bit of detail, ornamented with a carved head. Another purely Irish feature is the winged finial, which formerly adorned the apex of the gable, but is now placed on the floor within the nave.

Kilmalkedar Church has been described and illustrated by Lord Dunraven in his *Notes on Irish Architecture* (vol. ii, p. 52); by Mr. Rolt Brash, in his *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (p. 98); and by Mr. Arthur Hill in his admirable monograph on the building. Mr. Hill formed one of the party who visited Kilmalkedar on this occasion.

Monuments at Kilmalkedar Church.—The sun-dial stands at the west end of Kilmalkedar Churchyard, near the entrance gateway. It is cut out of a single stone, and is placed in a socket which conceals some of the ornament at the bottom. It belongs to the class of pedestal sun-dials, as it stands by itself and is not attached to any

building. Unlike the modern pedestal sun-dial, however, it has the face on which the hour angles are marked in a vertical instead of horizontal plane. The face of the dial is semicircular, with the diameter of the semicircle placed horizontally at the top. It is divided by radial lines into four equal quarters, or angles of 45 degrees, each intended to represent three hours, although they do not do so correctly. The hole for the gnomon, which probably projected at right angles to the face, is in the centre of the semicircle. The pedestal forms part of the same stone as the face. It is rectangular in cross-section, tapering towards the bottom. The whole is 3 ft. 8 ins. high, 1 ft. 6 ins. wide across the semicircular face, 11 ins. across the top of the pedestal, and 10 ins. across the bottom, and 5 ins. thick. The back of the face is ornamented with intersecting arcs of circles, and the sides and pedestal with incised lines, terminating in a Greek fret pattern. This sundial has been described by the late Mr. G. V. du Noyer in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. xxv, p. 207), and by Mr. G. M. Atkinson, in the *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland* (4th Ser., vol. viii, p. 249). Other sun-dials of the same kind, but not so highly ornamented, exist in Monasterboice, co. Louth; Clone, co. Wexford; Innis Cealtra, on Lough Derg; and Saul, co. Down. They all show the same ignorance of the true geometrical principles of setting out the hour angles as the Saxon sun-dials found in different parts of England, especially in Yorkshire.¹

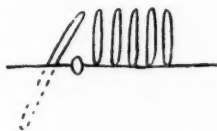
The cross at Kilmalkedar stands opposite the western doorway of the church. It is of the Latin shape, quite plain except for two squares in relief, one within the other, in the centre of the cross. It is 7 ft. 3 ins. high, and 4 ft. 6 ins. across the arms.

The Ogam-inscribed pillar at Kilmalkedar stands in the churchyard, near the cross, on the north side of it. The stone is 5 ft. 6 ins. high, having four sides, measuring respectively 5, 9, 8, and 6 ins. wide. It is inscribed on three of the vertical angles thus:—

(1.) On the left edge of one face, reading from the top downwards—MACIBEOCANN

(2.) On the right edge of the same face, reading from the bottom upwards—MAILXINBIRI

(3.) On the back, reading from the bottom upwards—



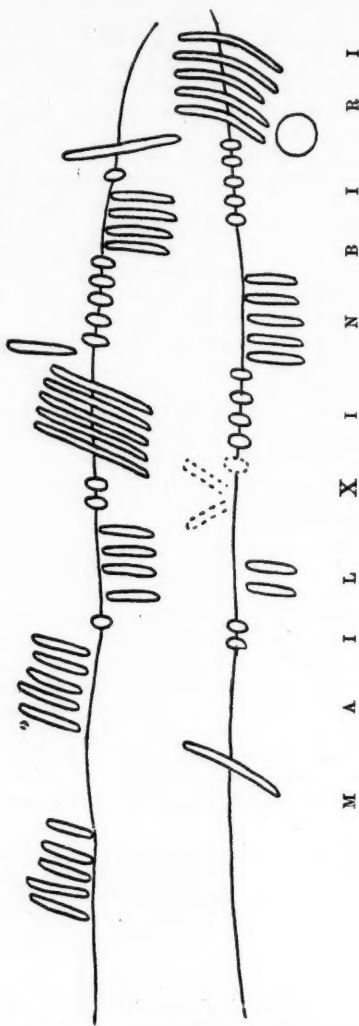
M A Q (1)

There is a hole perforated through the pillar close to the top.

¹ J. R. Allen's *Monumental History of the Early British Church*, p. 201.

Several of the Ogam on the right edge are worn away. Mr. G. V. du Noyer noticed the B of the name INBIRI when he made his sketch in 1856; but it does not come out in my rubbing.—J. R. A.

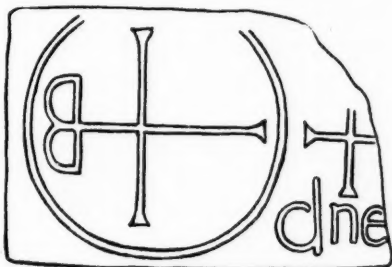
M A C I B R O C A N N



Ogam Inscription at Kilmalkedar.

The inscription was noticed by Mr. Henry Pelham as far back as 1796, and was described by him in the *Vallancey Collections* (vol. vi, p. 182). It has subsequently been copied by Mr. Windele, Mr. Hitchcock, and by Mr. G. V. du Noyer, and readings are given by Mr. Brash in his *Ogam Monuments* (p. 248), and by Sir S. Ferguson in his *Ogam Inscriptions* (p. 45).

Prof. Rhys sends the following note upon the inscription:—The Kilmalkedar stone is very difficult to read. It seems to end with the name Brocan, followed by a gap and another *n*, with the commencement of some other letter. The *maci* on it seems to show that we have not here to do with one of the earliest Ogmie inscriptions, and so doubtless, does the character ><. If we are to read this as *e*, the name will be *Maile-Inbiri*, which is preceded by some scorings hard to make out. But what could *Maile-Inbiri* be? Now *nb* must, I think, mean *nv* or *nw*, as in *Sdanbi*, the genitive of a name written later *Sanbh*,¹ so I cannot help regarding *Inbiri* as the genitive of a word which is now represented in O'Reilly's *Dictionary* by *infhir* and *ainmir*, meaning "a young woman", or "maid", Scotch Gaelic, *ainmir*, "a virgin". Thus I should conclude that *Maile-Inbiri* is a genitive of a name meaning *Calvus Virginis*, "the tonsured Man or Slave of the Virgin", otherwise expressed by Mail-Maire, Latinised "Marianus", but literally meaning "Calvus Mariæ". The *magi* on the back probably belongs to an older inscription.



Inscribed Stone at Kilmalkedar.

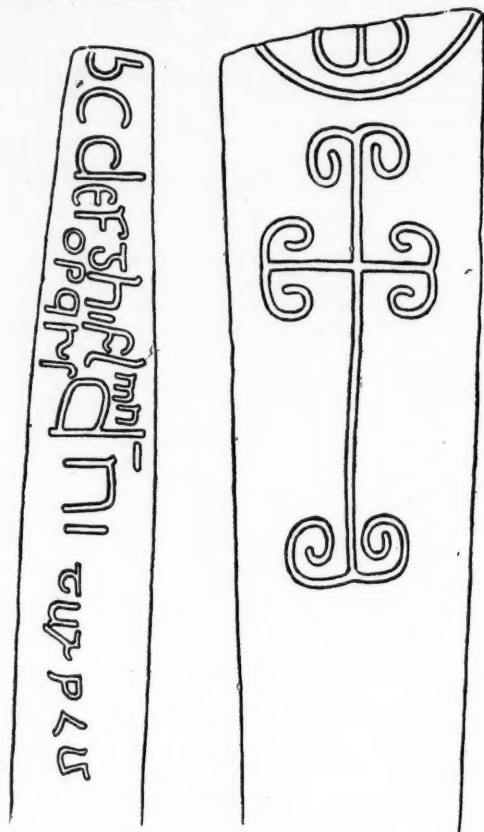
There are two other inscribed stones lying about in the churchyard at Kilmalkedar utterly uncared for, and likely to be destroyed at any time. This is hardly creditable to the guardians of our ancient monuments. The larger of the two stones is 5 ft. 6 ins. long, by 1 ft. 1 in. wide, by 5 ins. thick, bearing on one of the wide

¹ My friend Father Barry, who first published the *Sdanbi* Ogam (*Proc. R.I.A.*, 1877, pp. 485-489), has rightly identified *Sdanbi* with the genitive of a name *Staniub* in the pedigrees in the *Book of Leinster*; but the scribe of that MS. was copying from so old a source that he did not recognise the name, which is an undesigned proof of the great antiquity of the pedigrees. The oldest manuscript Irish shows no initial *sd* as far as I know.

spaces an incised cross, and inscribed in early Irish minuscules on the right side as follows—

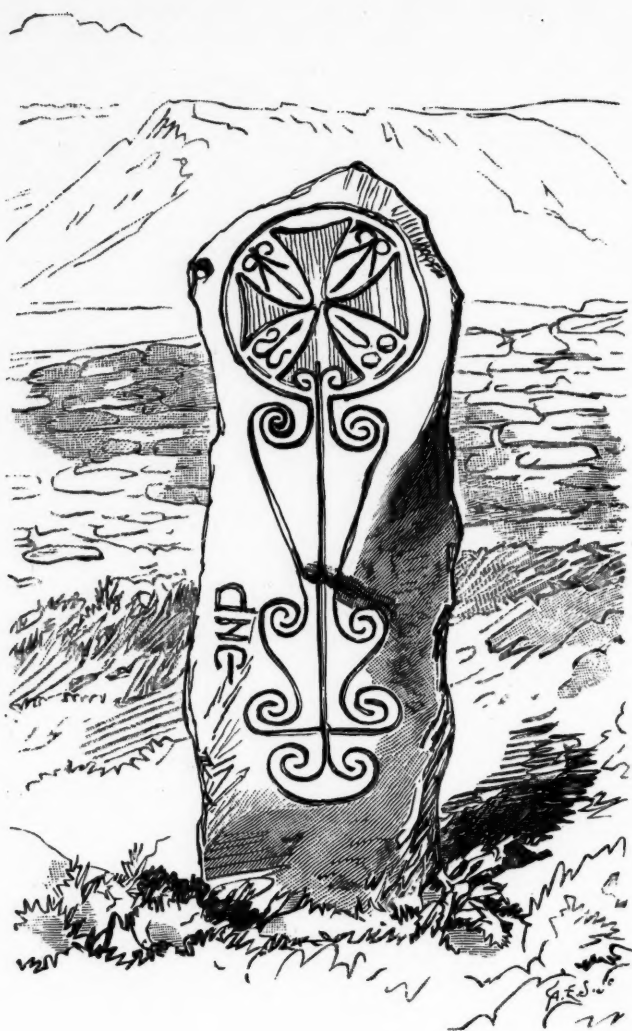
a b c d e f g h i k l m o p q r s d'ni t u x y z (?)

The invocation *d'ni*, the contracted form of the word *Domini*, was probably placed on the stone at an earlier date than the alphabet, as otherwise it is hardly likely that the letters would be so unevenly distributed.



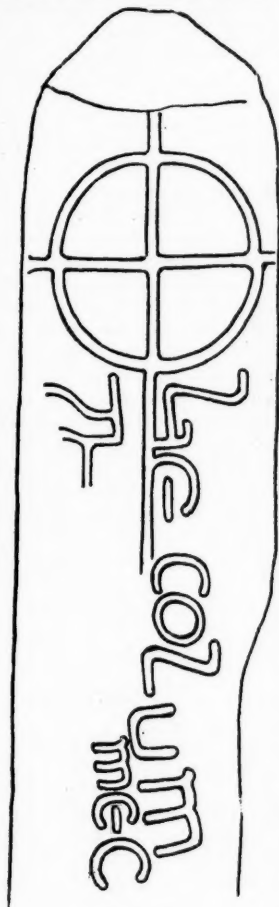
Inscribed Stone at Kilmalkedar.

The second, or smaller inscribed stone, is the fragment of a slab, 1 ft. 6 ins. long, by 1 ft. wide, by 4 ins. thick, bearing two incised



INSCRIBED STONE AT REASK, CO. KERRY.

crosses, one within a circle and the other with expanded ends, and inscribed with early Irish minuscules, the invocation, *d'ne*, the contracted form of *Domine*.



Inscribed Stone at Gallerus.

by 16 ft. 2 ins. outside. The north and south walls are 3 ft. 6 ins. thick at the bottom, the east wall 3 ft., and the west wall 3 ft. 9 ins. thick. The only two openings are a doorway in the west wall, and a

For comparison an illustration, from one of the late G. V. du Noyer's beautiful drawings, is given of the stone at Reask, co. Kerry, which has a similar invocation upon it.

Caherdorgan Fort and Cells.—

The ruins of Caherdorgan Fort are situated on the west side of the road from Dingle to Kilmalkedar, half a mile south of the latter place. (Ordnance Map, 1-in. scale, Sheet 171.)

The remains consist of a circular fort, 75 ft. in diameter inside, and four bee-hive cells in various stages of decay. The largest and most perfect of the cells is 12 ft. in diameter inside, and is complete up to the level of the springing of the domed roof. It has a flat-headed doorway, the lintel of which is still in place. Adjoining the cells are some structures having a semi-domed roof built against the side walls of the larger buildings. They probably served the purpose of cupboards, store-houses, or cellars. These remains are all built without cement and are of the pagan period.

Oratory of Kilmalkedar.—The ruined Oratory of Kilmalkedar is situated a quarter of a mile north-west of Kilmalkedar Church, on the hillside sloping down towards Smerwick Harbour, but at a much greater elevation than the Oratory of Gallerus, which lies below to the southward. (Ordnance Map, 1-in. scale, Sheet 171.) The plan of the building consists of a single rectangular chamber, 17 ft. 6 ins. long by 9 ft. 3 ins. wide inside, and 24 ft. 2 ins.

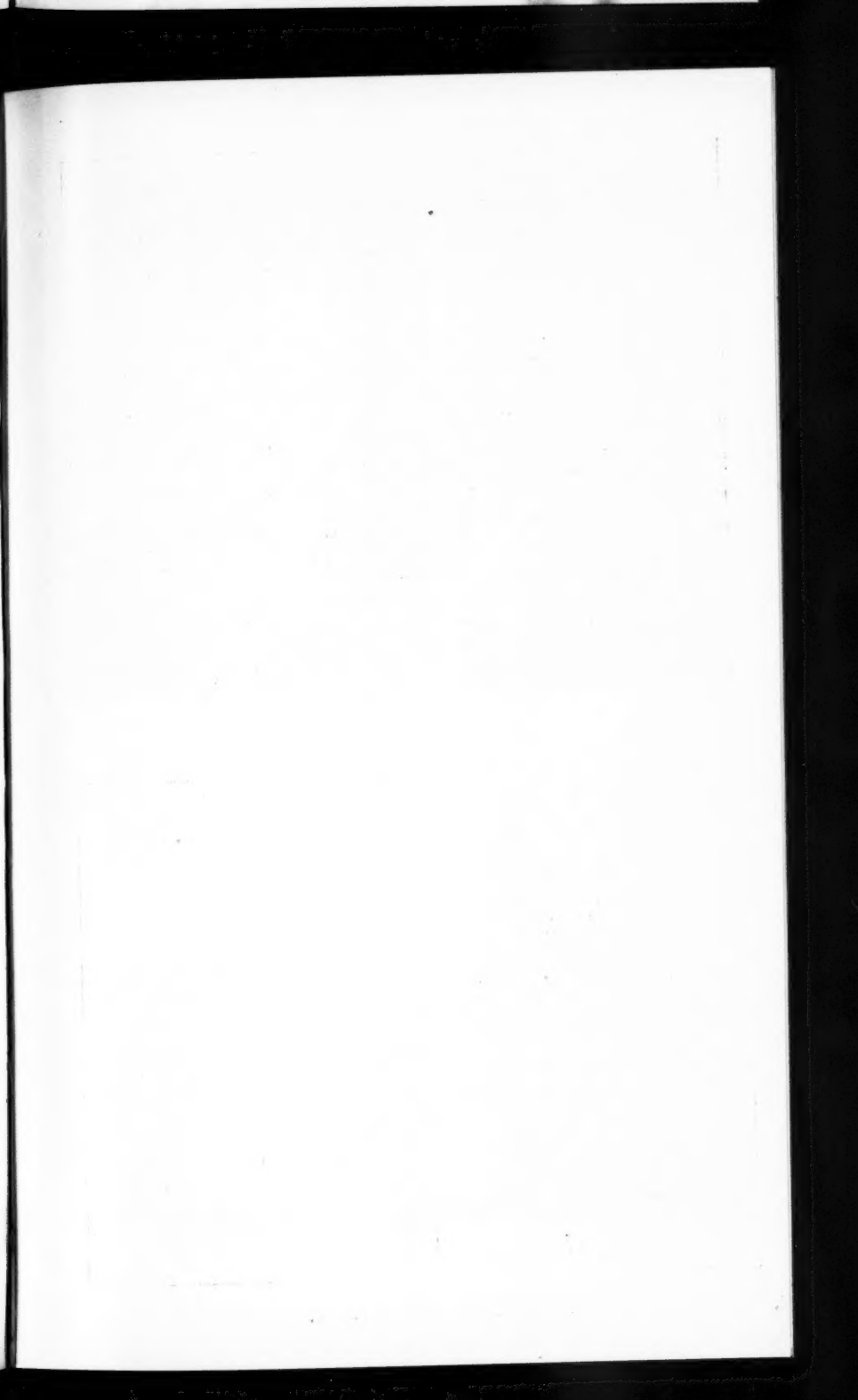
window opposite to it in the east wall. The doorway has a flat head and inclining jambs. It is 4 ft. 8 ins. high, by 1 ft. 10 ins. wide at the top, and 2 ft. 5 ins. wide at the bottom, dimensions taken on the inside. The lintel stone projects beyond the wall on the interior, and has a hole 4 ins. square at each end for fastening a wooden door frame in its place.¹ The ground outside is a little higher than on the inside, and there is a descent of three steps on entering the oratory. The east window has a flat head, and is splayed on the jambs both internally and externally. The narrow slit in the centre of the wall, through which the light is admitted, is only 6 ins. wide. The window is 3 ft. high, by 1 ft. 10 ins. wide inside, and 2 ft. 4 ins. high, by 1 ft. 2 ins. at the top, and 1 ft. 6 ins. wide at the bottom, outside. It has a projecting sill on the exterior 3 ft. long. At the east end of the oratory there is a plinth, just above the ground level, projecting 8 ins. beyond the wall. When perfect the roof must have been just like that of the Oratory of Gallerus, being formed by inclining the side and end walls towards each other, with a curved batter both inside and out, until they meet at the ridge. The stones are laid in horizontal courses, without cement, and the walls gradually get thinner towards the top. When perfect the building must have been about 13 ft. high inside and 15 ft. 6 ins. outside, allowing for the difference of a foot between the level of the ground inside and out. At present the highest part of the wall, which is at the south-west corner, is 12 ft. above the ground; the lowest part, on the north side, is only 6 ft. high. In the north wall, 2 ft. 9 ins. from the east end and 5 ft. above the ground, is a small square hole, 8 ins. high, by 6 ins. wide, not going right through the wall, the use of which is not quite apparent. The Oratory of Kilmalkedar belongs to the oldest type of Christian structure in Great Britain, except, perhaps, the oratories on Skellig Michael, which are somewhat ruder, having the corners slightly rounded instead of square, and are thus one step nearer the pagan beehive cells.

The only historical reference to Kilmalkedar is in the *Martyrology of Donegal*, under May 14th, as follows:—

“Maolcethair, son of Ronan, son of King Uladh, of Cill Melchedair, near the shore of the sea, to the west of Brandon Hill. He was of the race of Fiatach Finn, Monarch of Erin.”

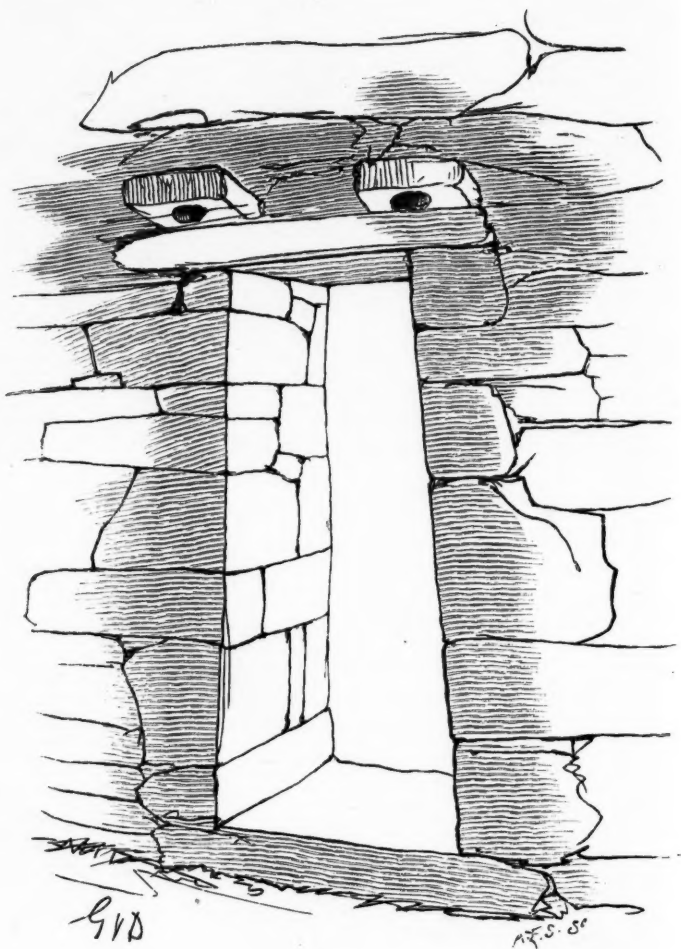
Oratory of Gallerus and Inscribed Stone.—The stone-roofed Oratory of Gallerus is situated five miles north-west of Dingle, and one mile south-west of Kilmalkedar Church, near the foot of the hill sloping down towards Smerwick Harbour. (Ordnance Map, 1-in. scale, Sheet 171.) This structure shows a slight advance in style on the Oratory of Kilmalkedar, the masonry being better and the head of the east window round instead of flat. Otherwise the general design is much the same. The plan consists of a single

¹ Similar projecting lintels, but without the holes, exist at St. Caimin's Church, on the South Island of Arran; at Agha, co. Carlow; Killeslin, co. Carlow.





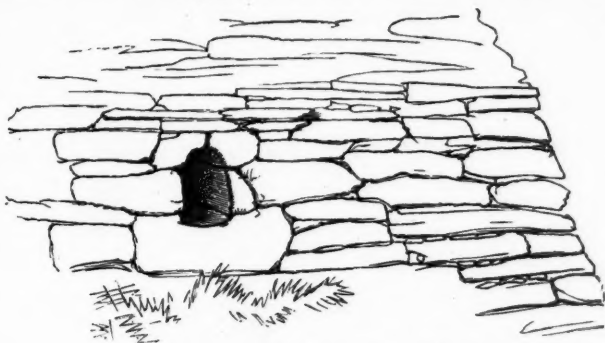
ORATORY OF GALLERUS.



DOORWAY OF ORATORY OF GALLERUS.

Interior View.

rectangular chamber 15 ft. 3 ins. long, by 10 ft. to 10 ft. 3 ins. wide inside, and 22 ft. 1 in. by 18 ft. 7 ins. outside. It has a flat-headed western doorway with inclining jambs, 5 ft. 10 ins. high, by 1 ft. 11 ins. wide at the top, and 2 ft. 5 ins. wide at the bottom, inside; and 5 ft. 6 ins. high, by 1 ft. 9 ins. at the top, and 2 ft. 3 ins. at the bottom, outside. The only other opening is a round-headed window in the east wall, deeply splayed on the inside. The outside aperture is 1 ft. 3 ins. high, by $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide at the top, and 10 ins. at the bottom. The window measures on the inside 3 ft. 3 ins. high, by 1 ft. 6 ins. wide at the top, and 1 ft. 9 ins. wide at the bottom. On the inside of the doorway, at a height of 8 ins. above the bottom of the lintel, is a projecting stone on each side, with a hole 3 ins. square through it to receive the door frame.¹ Above the east window are three projecting stone pegs, at different levels near the roof, for the suspension of lamps, book satchels, or reliquaries over

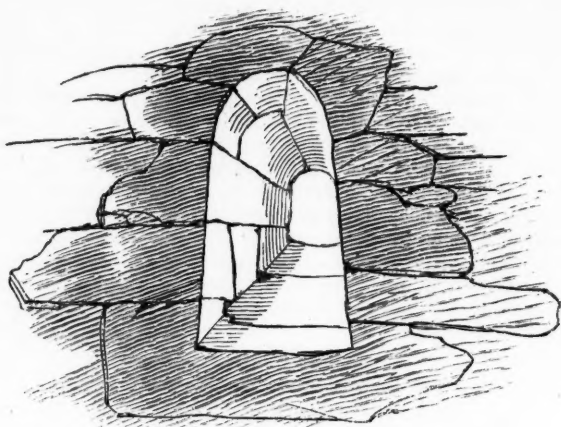


Oratory of Gallarus, East Window, Exterior View.

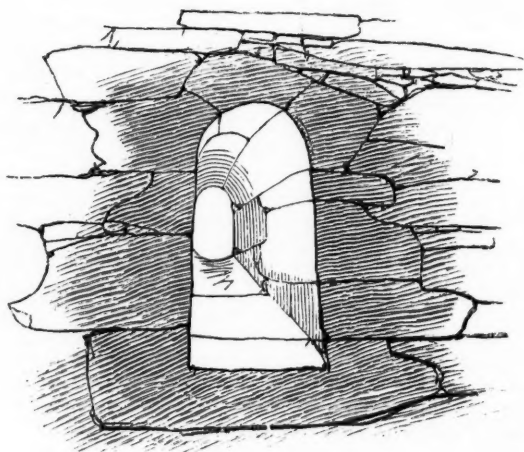
the altar. The roof is constructed entirely of stone laid in flat courses, without cement, in the same manner as the roof of the Oratory of Kilmalkedar. Up to the level of the lintel of the doorway the batter of the side walls is nearly straight, but above this it curves round gracefully, giving an outline like that of a pointed Gothic arch. The end walls have much less batter than the side walls, and are slightly curved outwards, so as to be convex at the middle of the height.

The ridge is 17 ft. 4 ins. long on the top outside, and is 17 ft. 6 ins. above the floor of the building. It is 17 ft. 2 ins. above the ground at the west end, and only 13 ft. 9 ins. above it at the east end, showing a rise in the ground of 3 ft. 5 ins. The height inside is 13 ft. 1 in. to 13 ft. 3 ins. The Oratory has a projecting plinth on the north and south sides. A mutilated gable cross is still to be

¹ Single stones at one side of the doorway only exist at St. Brendan's Church, Innisglora, and at Oughtmama, co. Clare.



Oratory of Gallerus, East Window, Interior View.



Oratory of Gallerus, East Window, Interior View.

seen in its socket at the apex of the eastern gable. The present ridge stones are restorations by the Board of Works; the flags below these are 1 ft. 4 ins. wide. The Oratory is built of the purple grit-stones, of the old red sandstone formation of the district, and not of greenstone, as stated by Dr. Petrie.

As a specimen of the most perfect workmanship in dry rubble masonry the Oratory of Gallerus excels anything of its kind to be found in Ireland, or, indeed, elsewhere. After exposure to the tempests of over a thousand years it remains as watertight as when first erected, showing how admirably adapted the stone roof invented by the pagan Celts is to resist every onslaught of the elements in the wet climate of Ireland. No better instance could be found of suitability to what scientists delight to call the "environment". The stones on the inside of the oratory seem to have been set in place with their rough surfaces projecting, and then the whole was afterwards dressed flat, as the tool-marks can still be seen where the inequalities were removed. The views of the east end of the oratory and of the west doorway are from photographs by Dr. George Norman, of Bath, who has kindly allowed them to be reproduced here.

Standing close to the Oratory of Gallerus, on the north-east side, is a slab 3 ft. 6 ins. high, by 1 ft. 1 in. wide, bearing an incised cross within a circle on one of the broad faces, and an inscription below it in early Irish minuscules, reading from the top downwards—

lie colum
mec
gr.....

The Oratory of Gallerus is described and illustrated in Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (p. 132); in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture* (vol. i. p. 59); and in Rolt Brash's *Ecclesiastical Irish Architecture* (p. 10).

Oratory of Temple Managhan and Ogam-inscribed Pillar.—The ruins of the Oratory of Temple Managhan, or Temple Gel, are situated three miles north-west of Dingle, and one mile south-west of the highroad from Dingle to Kilmalkedar, on the hill side sloping down towards the tract of marshy ground lying between this place and Dingle Harbour. (Ordnance Map, 1-in. scale, Sheet 171.) The construction of this Oratory seems to have been like that of the Oratories of Gallerus and Kilmalkedar, the only difference being that the batter of the walls is straight instead of being curved. All that now remains of the building is the lower part of the west gable wall and about one half of the north and south walls; the east wall has entirely disappeared. The plan of the oratory consisted of a single rectangular chamber, 10 ft. 3 ins. wide inside, and 20 ft. wide outside, the length not now capable of being defined. The north wall is 5 ft. thick, the south wall 4 ft. 9 ins. thick, and the west wall 4 ft. 6 ins. thick. The highest part of the gable wall is now 6 ft. above the ground. The western doorway, which is perfect,

has a flat head and inclining jambs. It is 3 ft. 2 ins. high, by 1 ft. 6 ins. wide at the top, and 2 ft. at the bottom. The hillside on which the Oratory is built slopes down rapidly from north to south. There were formerly several small buildings, possibly bee-hive cells, round the Oratory, but they were all removed by a Scotch tenant,¹ who would have destroyed the church as well, had he not been prevented by the natives. The Oratory stands in an open field without any enclosure.

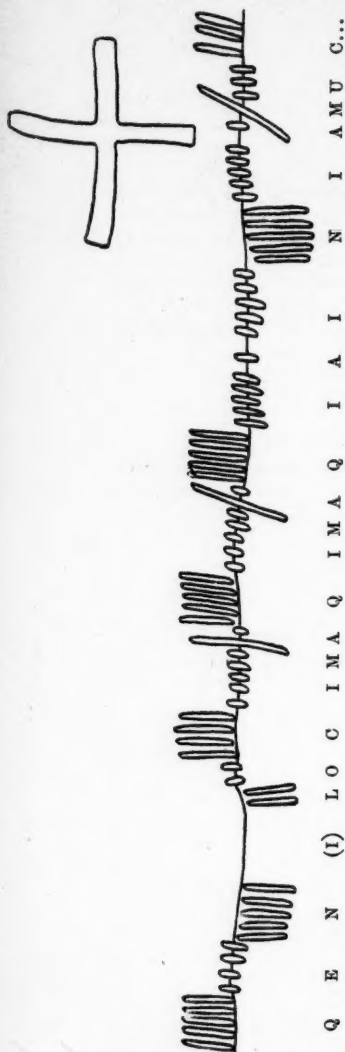
Thirty feet to the west of the building is an erect pillar, bearing a plain incised Latin cross on the front and back, and on the right vertical angle of the side facing the Oratory, an Ogam inscription, reading, from the bottom upwards, as follows—

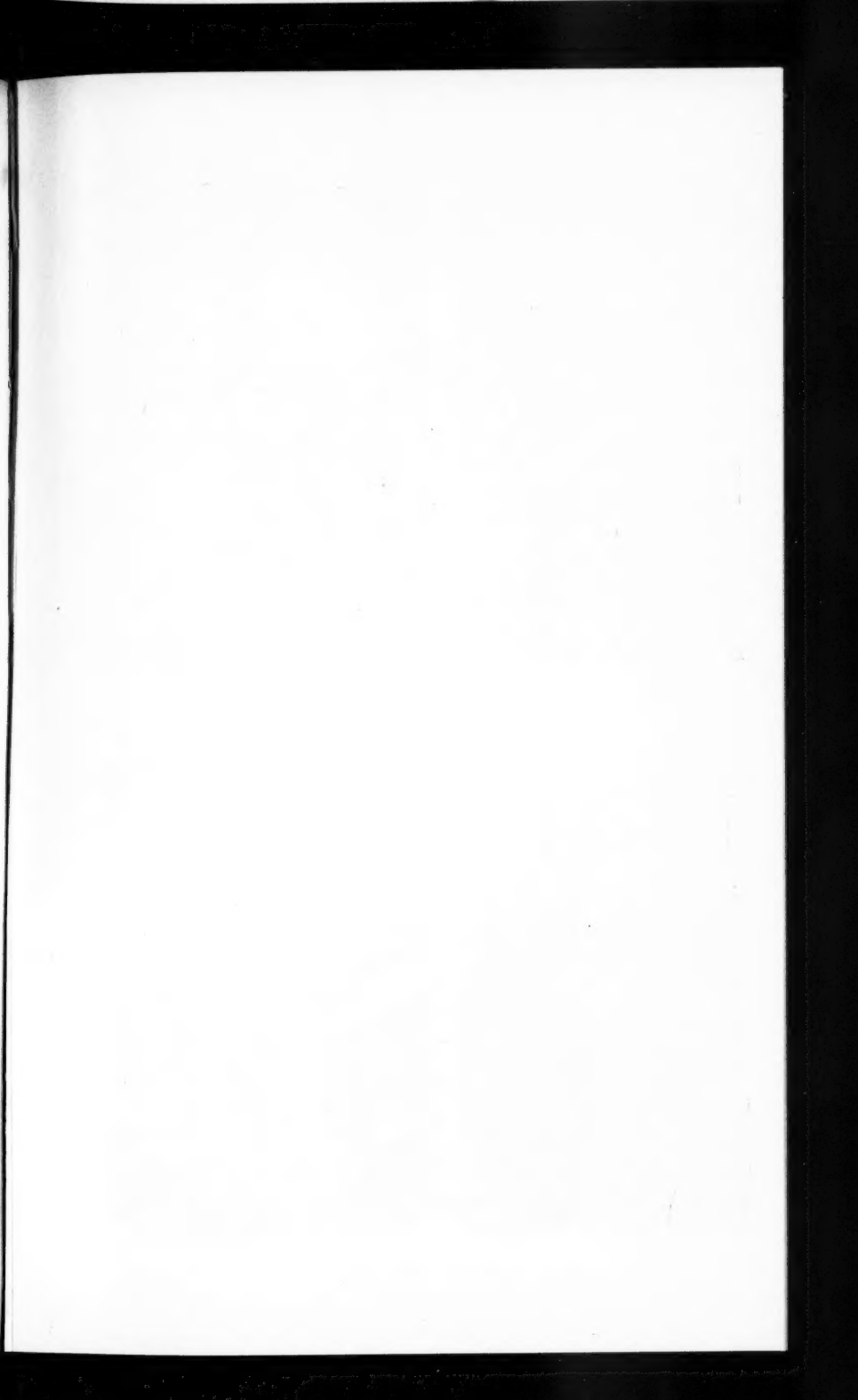
The strokes are finely cut, and very distinct. The cross-section of the pillar is not rectangular, but a rhombus, the Ogam inscription being on one of the obtuse angles. The stone is 5 ft. 2 ins. high by 1 ft. 8 ins. wide, by 11 ins. thick. The length of the inscription is 4 ft. 1 in., but it is broken away at the top. The monument was discovered by Dr. Petrie, and is engraved in his well-known work on the *Ancient Architecture of Ireland* (p. 133), the block having been reproduced in *Archæologia Cambrensis* (Vol. i, p. 414). It is also described by R. Brash in his *Ogam Monuments* (p. 206), and by Sir S. Ferguson, in his *Ogam Inscriptions* (p. 40).

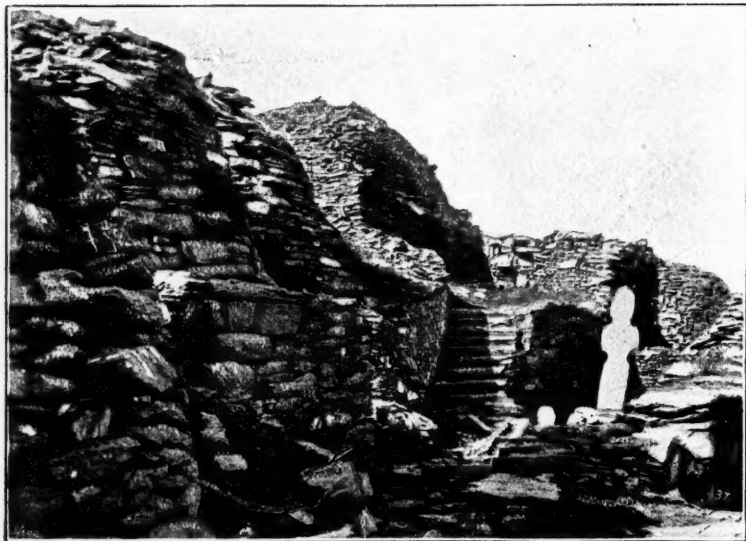
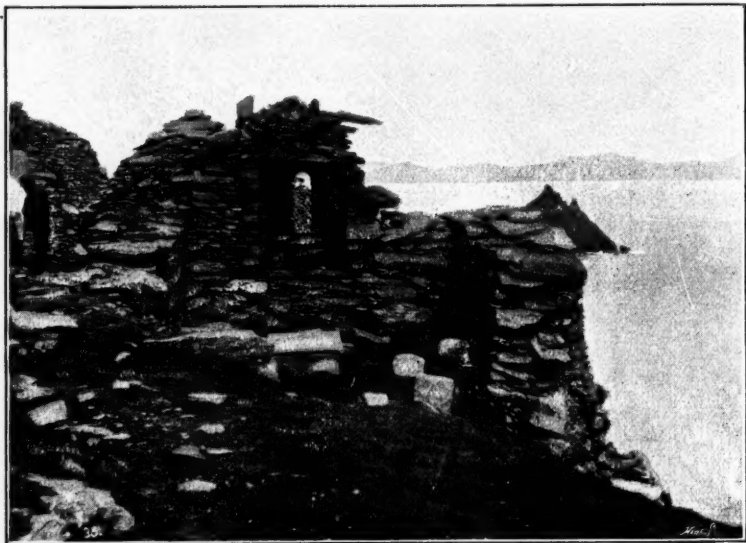
Prof. Rhys identifies *Queniloci* with the modern *Ceallaigh*, better known as *Kelly*.

On the north side of the Oratory is an ancient "Killeen", in which unbaptised infants are buried, and amongst the tiny graves are three low stones, having crosses of very early forms enclosed within circles, incised upon them. One of the stones has crosses on both back and front. It is the custom at this and other Killeens

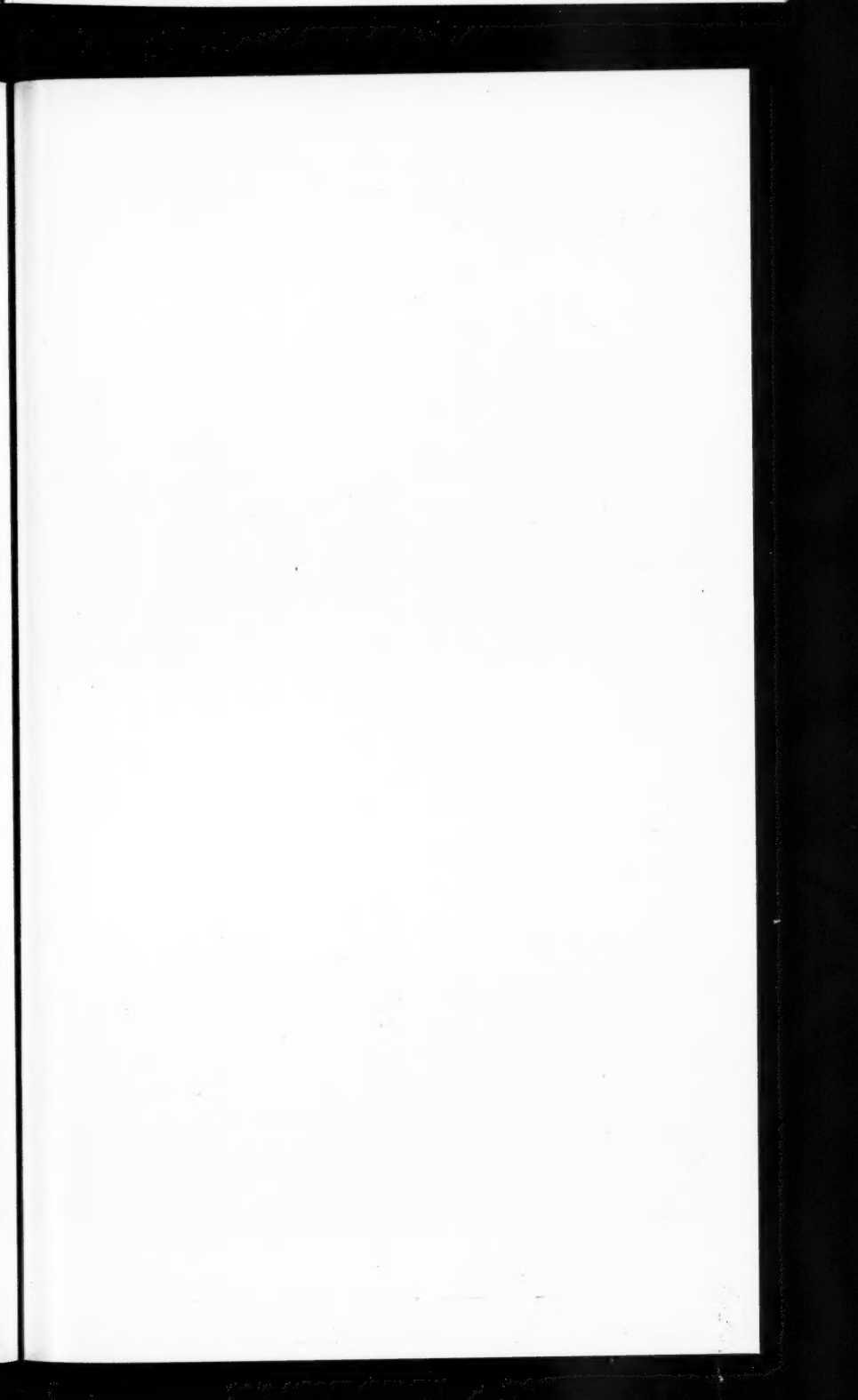
¹ Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. i, p. 57, where illustrations of the Oratory will also be found.

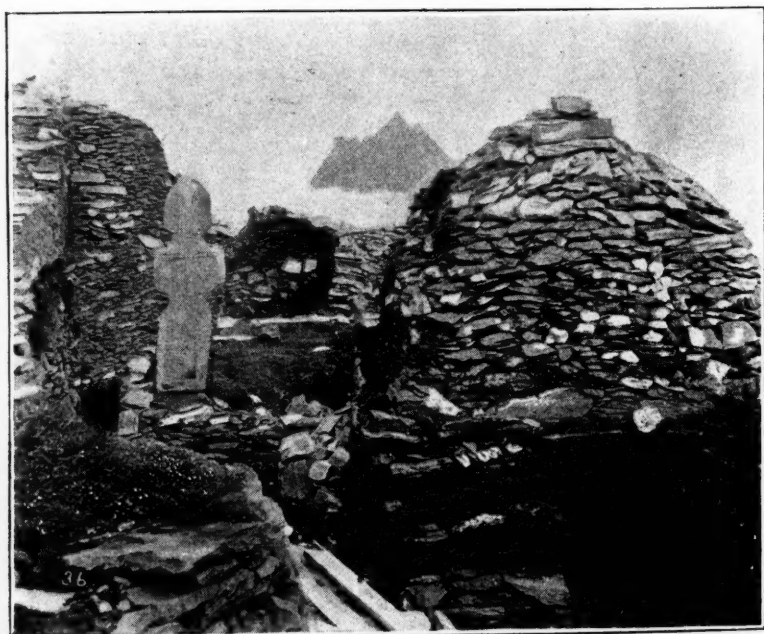






SKELLIG MICHAEL.





SKELLIG MICHAEL.

in the district, on particular days in the year, either the anniversary of the saint to whom the church is dedicated, or Christmas Day, or Easter Sunday, to "pay rounds", *i.e.*, to walk in procession from the Saint's Well several times round the church, sunwise. A complete investigation of these ancient customs might be the means of throwing much light on the founders of the various churches. In the neighbourhood of Dingle, St. Manchan, St. Molaga, St. Kieran, St. Gobnet, St. Finan, and St. Flannan receive special reverence. The well of St. Manchan is situated near the Oratory.

EXCURSION, FRIDAY, 14TH AUGUST.

A DAY AT SKELLIG MICHAEL.¹

A trip to Skellig Michael is only possible under the most favourable circumstances, partly on account of the difficulty in obtaining suitable means of transport to so inaccessible a spot, and also because the landing on the rock cannot be attempted except when the sea is quite calm. By the courtesy of the Rear-Admiral commanding, H.M. gunboat *Banterer* was placed at the disposal of the Archaeological Societies, besides which the Commissioners of Northern Lights were kind enough to allow their s.s. *Alert* to assist in carrying the excursionists to the Skellig. Much uncertainty existed, even up to the last moment, as to whether the day would prove fine enough to make the attempt, for when many an anxious face peered out from the windows of Benner's Hotel, at Dingle, on the morning of Friday, the sea-fog was still to be seen hanging round the tops of the neighbouring hills, making the prospect sufficiently gloomy to depress the spirits of all but the most enthusiastic antiquaries. However, every one was up in time for an early breakfast, but at 8 o'clock A.M., the time fixed on the programme for starting, there was no sign of the vessels that were to convey the party to the rock. Just as we were beginning to give up all hope, the joyful tidings was brought that H.M.S. *Banterer* had arrived in the harbour, and its boats were ready to take the party on board. The *Banterer* had left Bantry the day before, and the delay was caused by the fog, which necessitated putting into Ventry harbour for the night, instead of going straight on to Dingle. The members, sixty in number, soon assembled on the beach, and were rapidly rowed across the harbour to the ship, which was lying close to the entrance, nearly a mile off. Here a terrible disappointment awaited the ladies, for the Commander, Lient. Hugh B. Rooper, declined to undertake the responsibility of risking their valuable lives by taking them on the voyage, and so they were sent ashore without more ado.

¹ An interesting account of this day's excursion is given in a paper by Mr. W. Law Bros on "Early Christian Architecture in Ireland", read before the Society of Architects, March 8th, 1892 (see *Proceedings*, iv, No. 8, p. 123).

At 9 A.M. the *Banterer* steamed out of the narrow entrance of Dingle Harbour, and soon encountered the heavy swell in the bay outside. As the sea fog began to lift, the outlines of the perpendicular cliffs on the west side of the harbour could be distinguished, although the tops of the mountains were still enshrouded in mist. The rocks are of the old red sandstone formation, the colour of which varies so much according to the locality. Here the tint is a delicate pink. By the time the gunboat had got halfway across Dingle Bay, a decided improvement in the weather took place, and the magnificent scenery of the west coast of Kerry could be seen to advantage.

To the north was the long line of cliffs of the promontory of Corkaguiny stretching out far to the westward, broken only by the wide gap forming the entrance to Ventry harbour, and terminating in Sleah Head, beyond which again was the Great Basket Island, sometimes called "the next parish to America". To the south there were the dark masses of rock near Douglas Head, Valentia Island, with its meteorological station perched on the edge of the cliff, and a glorious background of mountains extending away inland as far as the Magillcuddy's Reeks above Killarney.

The sun now shone forth brilliantly, and the Skellig for the first time became visible, although on a fine day it can be seen from Dingle, from which place it is twenty-eight miles distant, in a straight line to the south-west.

The first impression from afar off is of an isolated rock rising out of the sea in a single cone, like a miniature Peak of Teneriffe; but on nearer approach the Skellig is seen to consist of two pyramidal masses of rock, joined together at the base. The sides of the pyramids in reality make an angle of about 45 degrees with the horizon, but, owing to a well-known tendency of the mind to over-estimate the steepness of upward slopes, the cliffs appear to be almost perpendicular. One peak is higher than the other, and much more pointed. The lower peak is slightly rounded on one side, and has a projecting shoulder about halfway down. Those who had seen the illustration of Skellig Michael in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture* were inclined to think that the artist had exaggerated the height and rugged features of the rock; but this is not the case, as the reality is far more impressive than any picture could possibly make it. The dedication to St. Michael, the patron saint of high places, at once calls to mind the somewhat similar isolated rocks in Normandy and Cornwall bearing the same name. These, however, sink into utter insignificance beside the wild grandeur of the Skellig. By one o'clock the *Banterer* had arrived at its destination, after a passage of four hours, and the excursionists were soon safely landed in the ship's boats. As not a moment was to be lost of the precious time allowed for the exploration of the rock, the party at once commenced the arduous ascent to the summit, resting only for a few minutes to take in the beauty of the situation. The Great Skellig, or Skellig Michael, lies to the south-

west of Valentia Island, opposite to St. Finan's Bay, and is 8½ miles from Bolus Head, the nearest point on the mainland of Kerry.

The Little Skellig, an islet of brilliant purple colour, with jagged outline, the favourite haunt of the gannet, is situated a mile and a quarter to the north-east, and between it and Puffin Island is Lemon Rock. The Great Shellig is about half a mile long, from north-east to south-west, and a quarter of a mile from north-west to south-west, across the widest part. The southern peak rises to a height of 714 ft., and the northern one to a height of 611 ft. above the sea. The landing-place is close to the mouth of a cave at the north extremity of the island, just round the east side. There are two lighthouses on the island, the lower one at the south point, and the upper one on the west side of the higher of the two peaks. A zigzag road, cut in the face of the cliff, and protected on the seaward side by a strong parapet wall, leads from the landing-place at the north end of the island, the whole way along the east side to the lower lighthouse at the south point, and is continued round the west side to the upper lighthouse (see map enlarged from the six-inch Ordnance).

This road was constructed at great expense by the Trinity Board, and the landing-place at the same time considerably improved by widening the ledge of rock and cutting steps. Even now boats find it almost impossible to approach when there is any swell on from the Atlantic, as the waves rise and fall as much as twenty feet at a time.

The ancient Celtic monastic settlement on Skellig Michael is situated at the north end of the rock, just below the summit of the lower of the two peaks, at a height of 545 ft. above the sea, and almost immediately above the landing-place. The old approach to it was straight up the nearly perpendicular face of the cliff on the north-east side. The lower part of this route was cut away when the new road to the lighthouse was made, but a flight of 620 steps till remains from a point about 120 ft. above the sea, up to the monastery. The path can be seen following a winding course over the inequalities of the cliff above the landing-place. In places the ground has been levelled up, with retaining walls of dry-built rubble-work to support the steps. The ascent must have been almost as perilous as that to the Convent of Meteora, in the Levant.¹

The present approach to the monastery is partly new and partly old. From the landing-place the party followed the new road along the east side of the rock, in a southerly direction nearly as far as the lower lighthouse, but before reaching it they left the road, and, turning westwards, commenced to climb the grassy slope leading up to "Christ's Saddle", the name given to the saddle-shaped part of the island between the two peaks. The flight of steps up to "Christ's Saddle" is old, except near the bottom. From this valley

¹ See Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant*,

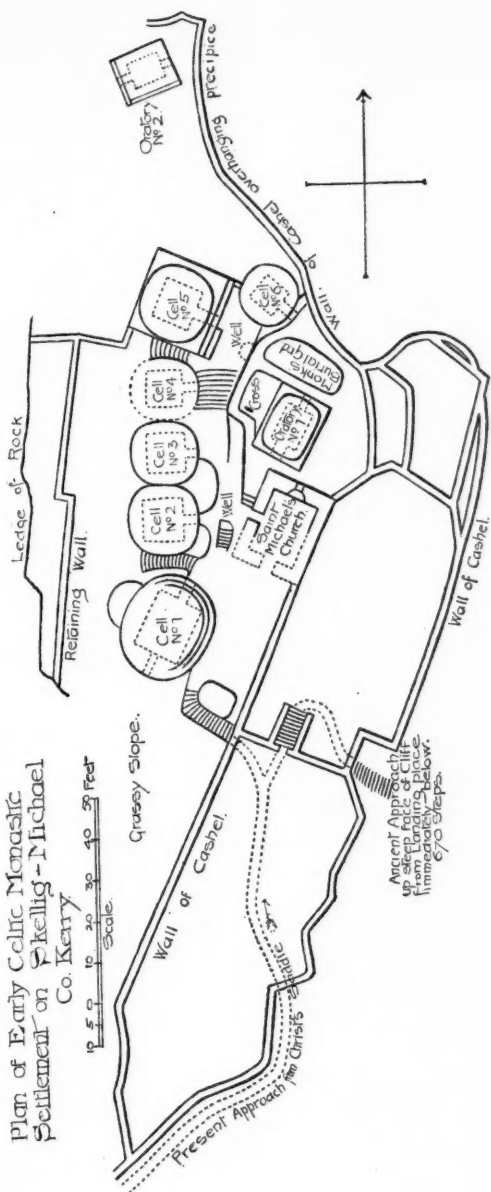
between two hills, which is 422 ft. above the sea, the steps branch off in opposite directions, one path going north-east, towards the monastery, and the other south-west, to the summit of the highest peak. The ascent of the stairs to the monastery is steep enough, but to climb to the highest peak is positively dangerous. The latter was successfully reached by some of the more adventurous, but the majority of the party contented themselves with the less perilous adventure.

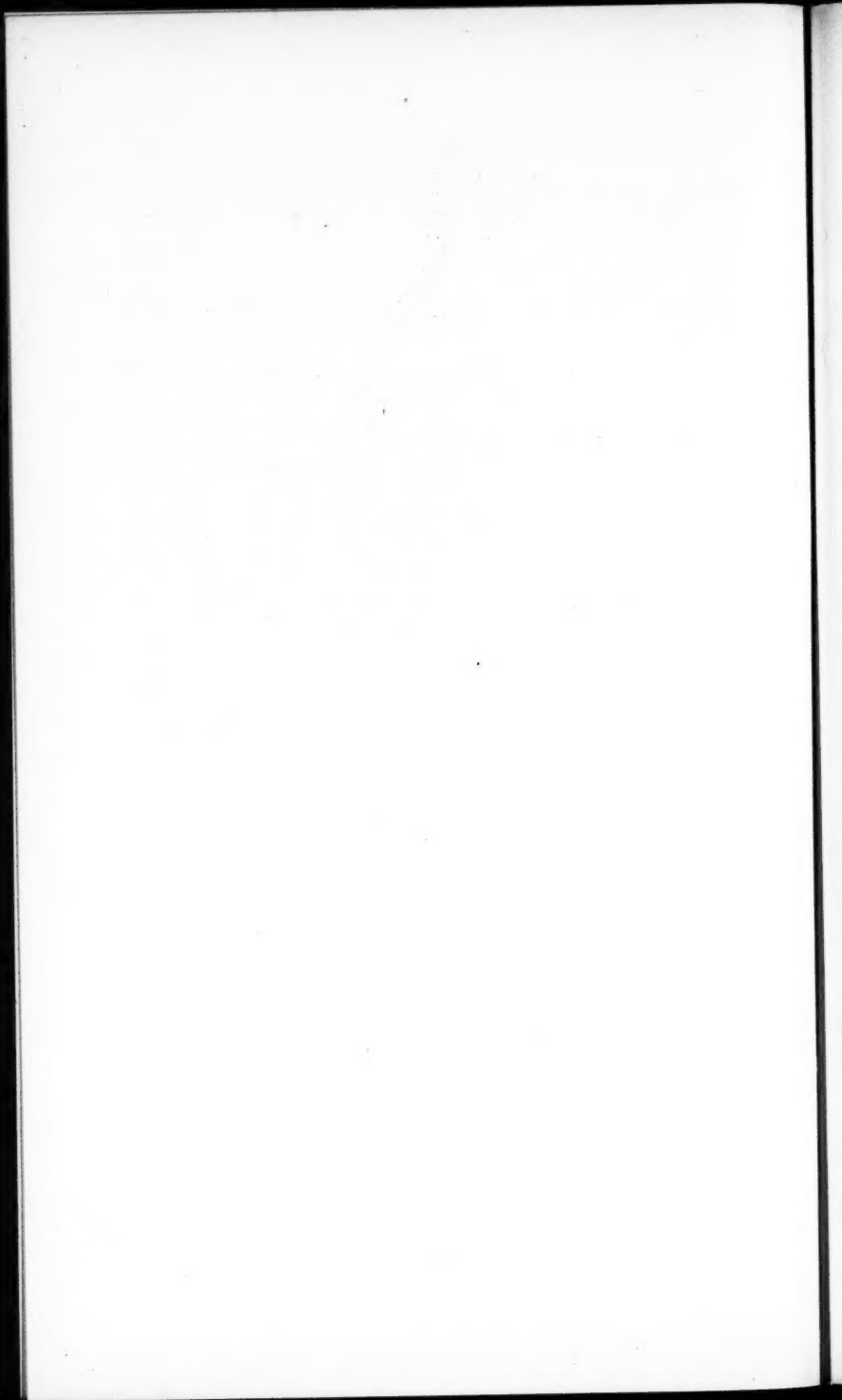
Having arrived at the top of the stairs the monastery was entered by a passage through the wall by which it is surrounded, at the south end of the enclosure.

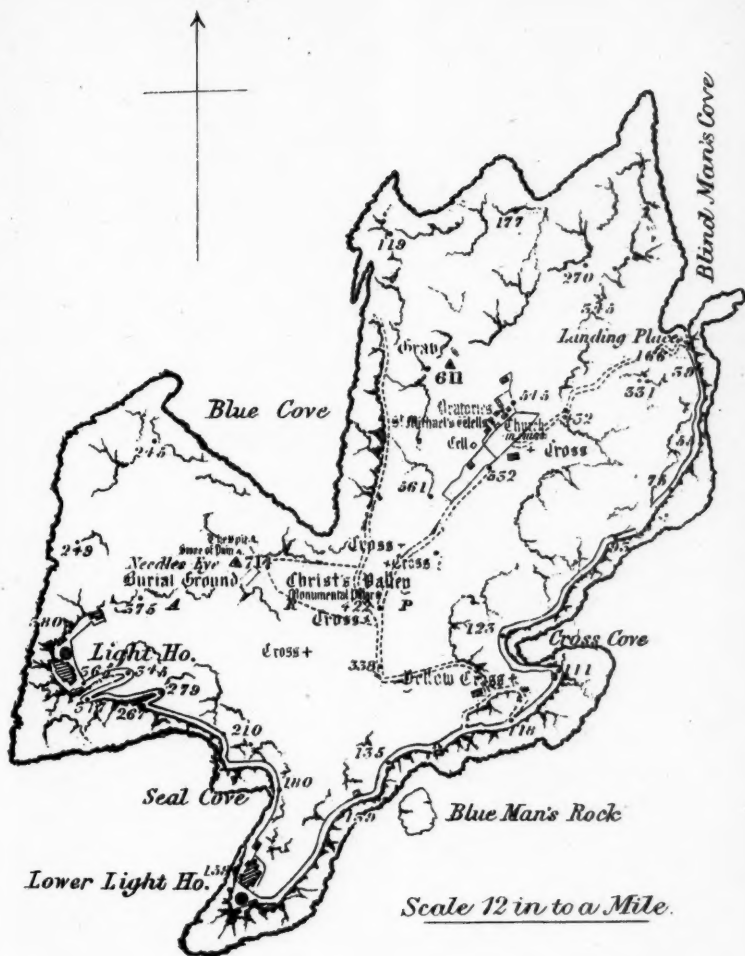
The strata of the rock composing the lower peak of the island dips at an angle of about 45 degrees downwards towards the east, leaving a precipitous cliff facing the west, with a broad, slightly convex ledge at the top. Below this ledge, to the east, is the plateau on which the monastic settlement stands. The plateau has been artificially levelled up in a series of steps by building retaining walls on the sloping face of the cliff. The area enclosed within the surrounding wall measures about 300 ft. long by 100 ft. wide, and the buildings within it occupy a space of 150 ft. by 50 ft. The remains consist of six beehive cells, two oratories, two wells, five ancient burial grounds, several rude crosses, all belonging to the early period, and the later Church of St. Michael. The settlement is protected at the back by the rounded ridge of rock, sloping up towards the top of the cliff on the west. There is a step down from the lower end of the ledge behind to the level of the plateau on which the buildings stand, and this is faced with a dry-built retaining wall, running north and south.

Parallel to the retaining wall, at a short distance from it, is a row of five beehive cells, close together, having an eastern aspect, and in a line with them, at the extreme north end of the enclosure, a small oratory overhanging the cliff. The remainder of the buildings, namely, the Church of St. Michael, the second Oratory, and the sixth beehive cell, are situated at a rather lower level, in a row, also nearly parallel to the retaining wall at the back. A ground plan is given in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture* (vol. i, p. 30), showing the position of the various buildings, but the different levels are not clearly indicated, and, in fact, they could hardly be explained intelligibly except by means of a model. The plan here given is taken from Lord Dunraven's, with corrections made on the spot last August. It has appeared already in *The Builder*. The ground next the retaining wall at the back is the highest, and is on a level with the springing of the domes of the beehive cells. A flight of eight steps leads from this level to that of the ground in front of the doorway of the cell at the north end of the first row, and a flight of fourteen steps leads to the level of the ground in front of the four other cells in this row. The Oratory, with the burial-places round it, and the remaining cells, are at the lowest level of all.

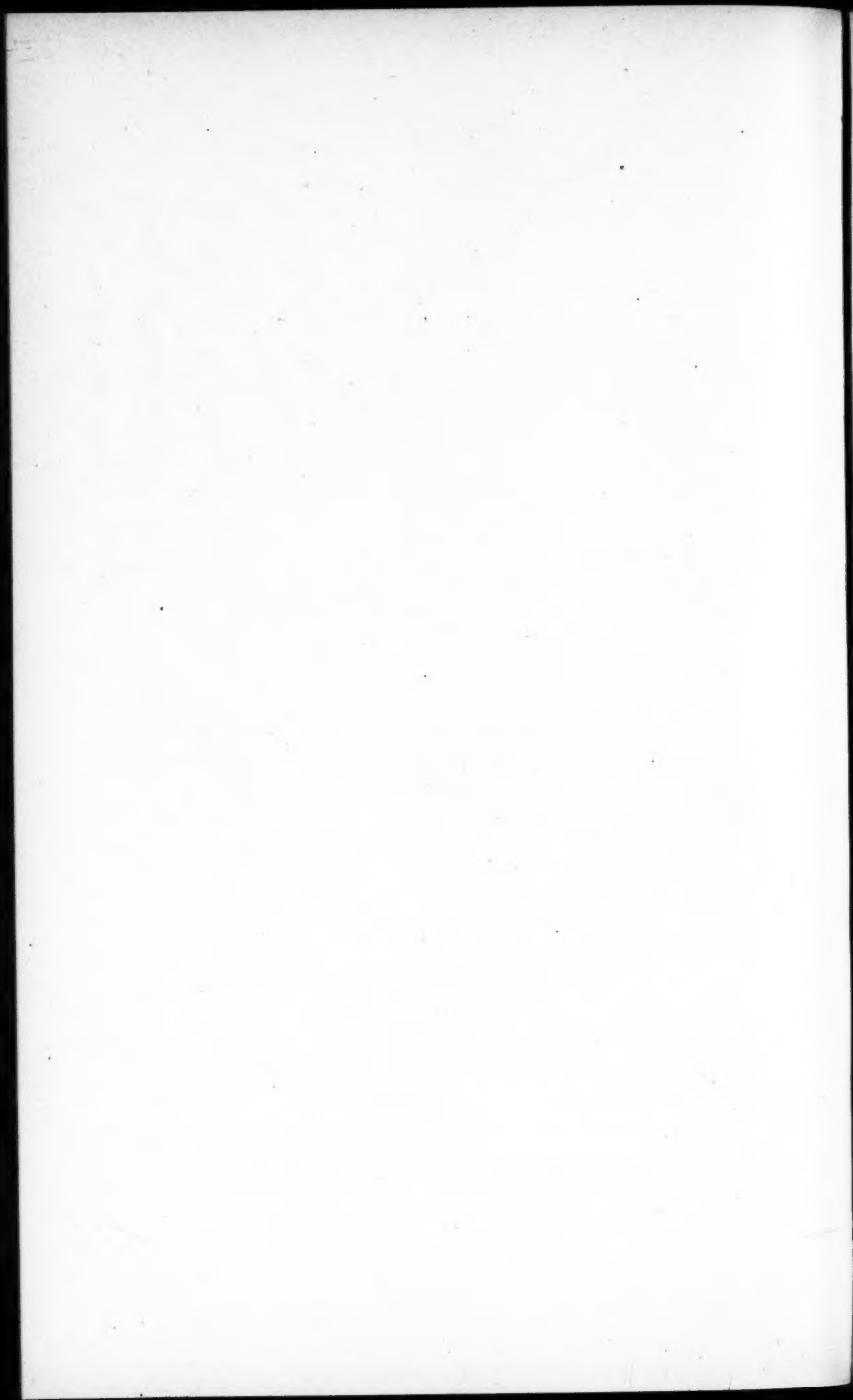
plan of Early Celtic Monastic
Settlement on Skellig-Michael
Co. Kerry







GREAT SKELLIG ROCK.



The whole of the structures are built of dry rubble masonry, except the Church of St. Michael. The cells are rectangular in plan inside, and round or oval outside; except in one case, where the outside is rectangular at the bottom. The roofs are domed, and formed with horizontal overlapping courses, as in the pagan "Clochauns". The only openings are the door, which has inclined jambs and a flat head, and a small rectangular hole to allow the smoke to escape. The Oratories are constructed like the cells, but they have a window opposite the door, and are rectangular in plan both inside and out. Over the doorway of one of the cells, and also of one of the Oratories, is a cross formed in white quartz pebbles, which contrasts with the dark-coloured slate of which the rest of the wall is built. The door of the largest cell has a double lintel, like the entrance to Staigue Fort, co. Kerry. The masonry of the surrounding wall is also very similar in character to that of Staigue Fort. The position of the Oratory at the north end of the enclosure is most perilous, being perched on a spit of rock so as literally to overhang the sea, which breaks into white foam hundreds of feet below. This is clearly shown in Dr. G. Norman's photographic view. Plans and sections of the oratory taken from *The Builder* are also given.

Skellig Michael "has been the scene of annual pilgrimages for many centuries, and the service of the Way of the Cross is still celebrated here, though with some perfectly traditional forms of prayer and customs, such as are only found to exist among the islanders along the west coast of Ireland." (See Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*.)

Mr. Lecky refers to the pilgrimages made here and to Lough Derg, and Dr. Smith, in his *History of Kerry* (1754), gives a remarkable description of the custom existing in his day:—"When the pilgrims have visited the cell and chapels they ascend the top of the rock, part of which is performed by squeezing through a hollow part, resembling the funnel or shaft of a chimney, which they term the Needle's Eye. This ascent, although there are holes and steps cut into the rock to climb by, is far from being gained without trouble, but when this obstacle is surmounted the pilgrim is at a small flat place, about a yard broad, which slopes away down both sides of the rock to the ocean. On the further side of this flat, which, from its narrowness on the top, is a kind of isthmus, the ascent is gained by climbing up a smooth, sloping rock that only leans out a very little, and this they call the Stone of Pain, from the difficulty of its ascent. There are a few shallow holes cut into it where they fix their hands and feet, and by which they scramble up. This kind of a sloping wall is about 12 ft. high, and the danger of mounting it seems terrible, for if a person should slip he might tumble on either side of the isthmus down a precipice headlong many fathoms into the sea.

"When this difficult passage is surmounted the remaining part of the way up to the highest summit is much less difficult. On the

top are two stations to visit, where there are also some stone crosses. The first is called the Eagle's Nest, probably from its extreme height, for here a person seems to have got into the upper regions of the air, and it is ascended by the help of some steps cut into the rock with much difficulty. If the reader can conceive a person poised, as it were, or, rather, perched on the summit of this pinnacle, beholding the vast expanse of the ocean all around him, except towards the east, where the lofty mountains on the shore appear like so many low houses overlooked from the lofty dome of some cathedral, he may be able to form some idea of the tremendousness and awfulness of such a prospect.

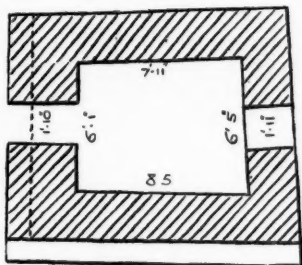
"The second station which the devotees have to visit on this height, and which is attended with the utmost horror and peril, is by some called the Spindle, and by others the Spit, which is a long narrow fragment of the rock, projecting from the summit of this frightful place, over a raging sea, and this is walked to by a narrow path of only 2 ft. in width and several steps in length. Here the devotees, women as well as men, get astride of the rock, and so edge forward until they arrive at a stone cross, which some bold adventurer cut formerly on its extreme end; and here, having repeated a Pater Noster, returning from this concludes the penance."

It has been generally supposed that the ancient Celtic monks chose the most inaccessible spots (such as the Skellig) for the sites of their monasteries, in order to avoid contact with the outer world as much as possible. We throw out the suggestion that during a period when travelling by land was attended with considerable danger, owing to the unsettled state of the country, the sea offered a safer means of transit, and these island monasteries may have served the purpose not only of "deserts in the ocean", but may also have formed a chain of stations round the coast for assisting monks and their friends in making their voyages, for warning ships against being wrecked, for rescuing drowning persons, and, in fact, taking the place of the modern Trinity Board and Lifeboat Service in rendering navigation less perilous.

There are very few historical notes connected with the Skellig, but a lurid light is thrown on the terrible sufferings that the Danish invasions must have caused to the monks by the following brief entry in the *Annals of Ulster*, under the year A.D. 823 :—"Eitgal, of Scelig, was carried away by the strangers, and soon died of hunger and thirst."

At five o'clock the party embarked on board the *Alert*, which had arrived to take the place of the *Banterer*, and were safely brought back to Dingle by 9 P.M.

We cannot conclude this account without protesting strongly against the way in which repairs are being carried on at Skellig Michael by the Board of Works. At the time of the visit of the Cambrian and Irish archæologists an ordinary mason was seen calmly tinkering away at the ruins, pulling down a bit here and building up a bit there in imitation of the old style of work, without



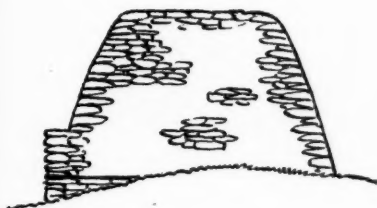
Plan

Skellig-Michael
Oratory No. 2

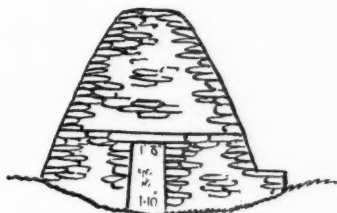
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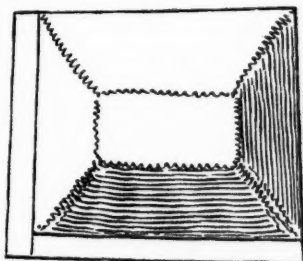
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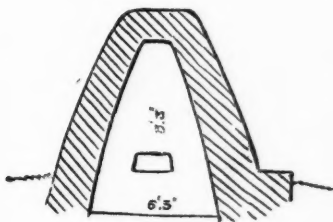
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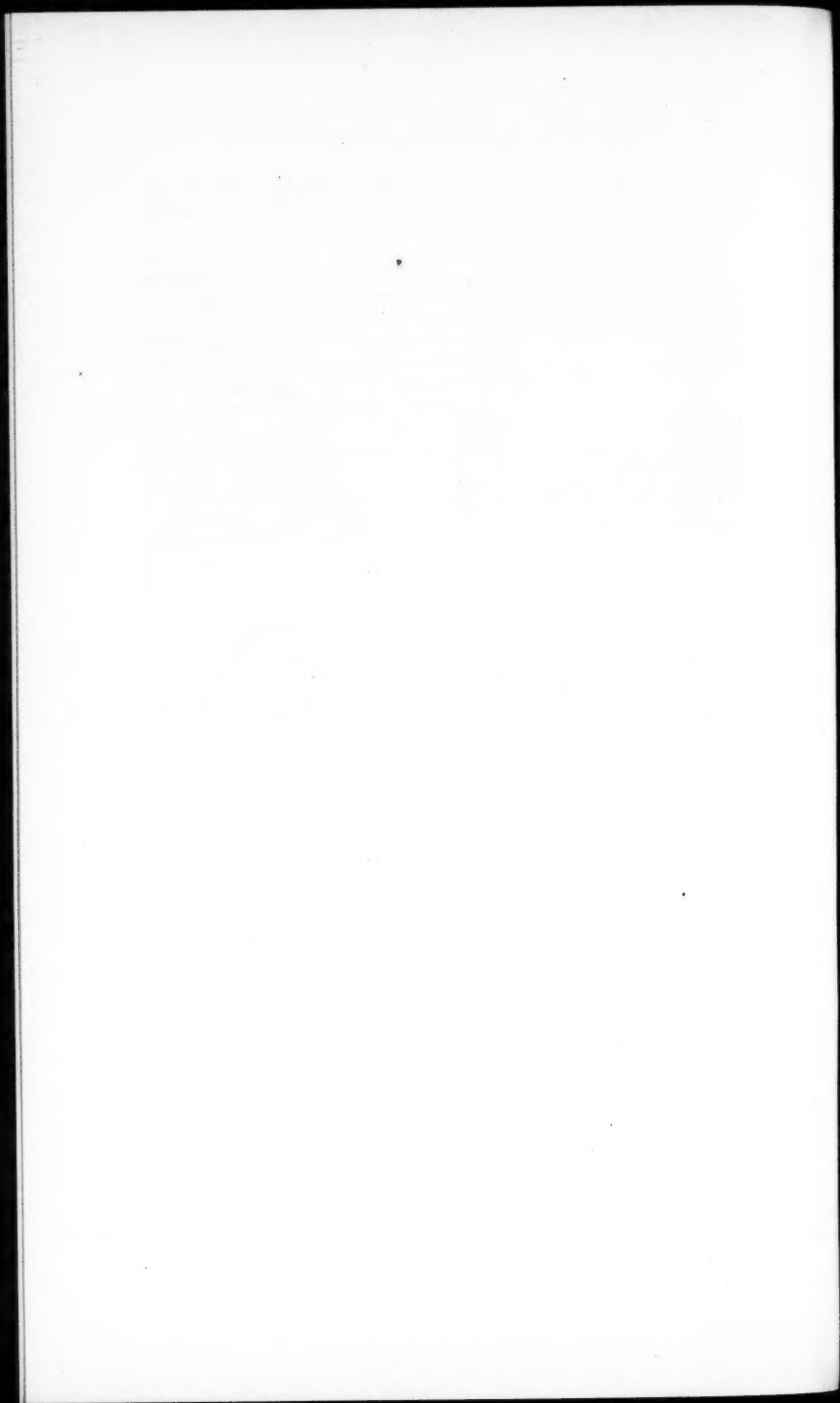
W



Plan



Cross Section



any kind of superintendence whatever. The vandalism perpetrated some time ago by the same authorities, at Innis Murray, is being repeated here with a vengeance.

This concludes the account of the usual four days' excursions made during our annual meetings, but, before leaving Ireland, extra days were arranged for, Limerick being the place chosen as headquarters. From thence excursions were made, on Saturday, August 15th, to the Dominican Abbey of Kilmallock; on Monday the 16th, to Bunratty Castle and Quin Abbey; on Tuesday the 17th, to Askeaton and Adare; on Wednesday the 18th, down the Shannon to Scattery Island; and on the return journey from Limerick to Dublin, on Thursday the 19th, visits were made to the Rock of Cashel and Holy Cross Abbey. On Friday the 20th, a very enjoyable and instructive day was spent in Dublin seeing the unrivalled antiquities and MSS. in the collections at the Museum and Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and in the Library of Trinity College. On the following day, Saturday the 20th, most of the party returned home, taking with them the pleasantest possible recollections of Irish hospitality and good fellowship.

Archaeological Notes and Queries.

EXCAVATIONS AT TALLEY ABBEY, CARMARTHENSHIRE.—On the main road from Llandilo to Lampeter, about seven miles from the former place, stands the village of Talley, situated in a narrow valley on the watershed of two small streams, one flowing into the Cothi, northwards, and the other southwards into the Towy. In the churchyard are the ruins of what is left above ground of the church of the important Abbey of Talley, a Premonstratensian monastery, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Baptist, said to have been founded by Rhys ap Gruffydd, titular Prince of South Wales, who died 1196. It flourished till the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII, at which time it had eight canons, and its revenue was estimated at £153 1s. 4d.

Until the year 1772 the abbey church, or some part of it, was used as the parish church of Talley, but being found too large for the purpose, and having become much dilapidated, the parishioners took down the greater portion of the building, and, with the materials, erected the present church, which stands on the north side of the site of the monastery. The demolition of the church resulted in the entire structure falling into decay, and, as in nearly every similar case, it became a quarry from whence the neighbouring buildings were erected. Wherever there was a bit of freestone in buttress, angle, pier, or arch, there the crowbar was at work wrenching it away, and gradually piece by piece the entire fabric, with the exception of a portion of the central tower and two of its arches, has disappeared.

On Tuesday, the 23rd of February 1892, the writer visited Talley, by the kind invitation of the Vicar, the Rev. J. H. Lloyd, and the two churchwardens, Sir James Drummond of Edwinsford and D. Long Price, Esq., of Talley House. To these gentlemen great credit is due for having taken the initiative in the exploration of the ruins. On the morning of the 24th operations were commenced, a staff of workmen having been supplied by Sir James Drummond and Mr. Long Price, with Mr. L. Bowen, the Edwinsford Farm steward, as foreman.

Our operations were confined to the site and ruins of the abbey church, which, with a portion of the cloister garth, are, as at Strata Florida, situated within the area of the churchyard, but the southern boundary wall cuts off the south-eastern angle of the presbytery and a greater portion of the south transept. The whole of the conventual buildings are therefore outside the churchyard, and the site of these being occupied by a modern farmhouse and homestead, they have entirely disappeared.

We first of all traced the line of the north transept, and found that from 5 ft. to 8 ft. in height of the walls still remained covered up with the fallen *débris* of the building. The total length of the transept, inside, north of the tower, is 36 ft. 9 ins.; its width 29 ft. East of this we found the external walls of the transeptal chapels, which are probably two in number in each transept. The springing of the arch of the southern of these two chapels still remains, and a fragment of the plain barrel vaulting with which they were covered. In tracing the north wall of the north transept we found the north door, with plain chamfered external jambs, nearly 4 ft. wide in the clear, and a little further on we came upon the staircase leading up in the thickness of the wall, and a passage over the chapels to the tower, of which seven steps are still *in situ*.

In the internal angle of the northern chapel we found a pavement of plain red, buff, and blue glazed tiles, but it was thought advisable not to uncover any portion of the floors of the chapels until systematic excavations were commenced, when they will be carefully laid bare, and thus any damage to the tile-pavements which apparently exist here will be prevented.

At the north-eastern angle of the tower the excavations were also carried down to the floor level, with the result that the jambs of the tower piers were found to be moulded at the angles, and that there was a plain chamfered base of early Transitional work, probably of the middle of the twelfth century. The builders had only carried up the external angles of the piers of the tower in moulded freestone as far as the springing of the pointed arches; all above that is plain rubble masonry, which has been plastered. This points to the fact that the earliest builders were unable to carry on the work so expensively as they had commenced, and from the absence, so far, of any carved stonework in the *débris*, the Abbey of Talley seems to have been a structure of great plainness and simplicity. The windows appear to have been filled in with stained glass, as several small fragments were found, one of exquisite ruby tint.

The line of the presbytery was defined internally; it is 44 ft. 9 ins. long, by 29 ft. wide; the latter dimension is also the size of the inside of the tower, which is perfectly square, and, it may be noted, is two feet larger than the tower of St. David's Cathedral, one foot more than at Strata Florida Abbey, and is only exceeded by the central tower of St. Asaph Cathedral, which is 29 ft. 6 ins. Talley therefore possessed a central tower equal in dimensions to any of the greater Welsh churches.

Our attention was then directed to the nave and aisles, and with very little difficulty we traced the line of the north arcade for a distance of 75 ft. In this length we found four of the piers, which are still standing above the original floor level about 6 ft., though now at the level of, and just below, the turf of the churchyard, thus indicating that the ruins generally are covered with about 6 ft. to 8 ft. of *débris*, and when excavated the walls now underground will, in most places, be found still standing to that height. Between

the piers of the north arcade is a thinner wall, which I am inclined to think was the screen wall dividing the north aisle from the nave. Time did not admit of our tracing whether a similar screen exists in the south arcade.

Of the north wall of the church no trace could be found, but its point of junction with the bond stones in the west wall of the north transept is still apparent. Whether it was ever built, and whether, if built, it was pulled down at some later period, cannot now be determined. Further excavations are necessary to settle this point.

A trench, driven at right angles to the south wall in the cloister garth, established its position, and it was traced westward to a point where it leaves the churchyard, and after following it for a distance of eight feet or so into an adjoining garden, we came upon the base of the massive buttress of the south-west angle of the west front, where our labours terminated on Saturday morning, the 27th.

Thus, after three days' work with a staff of eight men, we were enabled to define the general outline of the church of Talley Abbey, and the following comparative figures will show that in point of size it exceeds the dimensions, in most particulars, of the great Abbey Church of Strata Florida, being in total length 5 ft. 3 ins. longer, and, in width of nave and aisles, exceeding it by 1 ft. 6 ins.

Name.	Total Length.	Length of Nave.	Breadth of Nave and Aisles.	Length of Transepts, including Central Tower.	Breadth of Transepts.	Square of Lantern of Tower.	Length of Presbytery.
	ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.
Strata Florida Abbey	213 0	132 6	61 0	117 3	28 0	28 0	48 4
Talley Abbey	228 3	145 0	62 6	112 0	29 0	29 0	44 9

The nave arcades at Strata Florida consisted of seven arches, at Talley there appear to have been eight. The result of the explorations during our three days' work was so encouraging that an impromptu meeting of those interested was held at Mr. Long Price's house on Friday evening the 26th of March, when the following were constituted a Provisional Committee for the further exploration and complete excavation of Talley Abbey:—

The Vicar, the Rev. J. H. Lloyd; Sir James Drummond, Bart., and Mr. Long Price, churchwardens; the Ven. Archdeacon Edmondson, Lampeter; the Rev. C. Chidlow, Caio, Secretary for South Wales of the Cambrian Archæological Association; and Mr. S. W. Williams, F.S.A., with power to add to their number. Sir James Drummond was elected chairman and treasurer, Mrs. Long Price and Rev. J. H. Lloyd, joint secretaries. Sir James Drummond kindly offered to continue the preliminary excavations, and expend the sum of £20 thereon in labour, and it is hoped that

ere the Cambrian Archæological Association visit Talley next August that the entire site of the abbey church will be cleared to the floor level.

If this is done very interesting discoveries will most probably be made, and much of the history of Talley Abbey may be elucidated thereby.

S. W. WILLIAMS, F.S.A.

Rhayader, March 9th, 1892.

RESTORATION OF LLANFERRES CHURCH, NEAR MOLD.—This church is being restored under the direction of Mr. Douglas, architect, Chester. The shell is left undisturbed, but the walls, internally, are being relieved of a thick coating of mortar which disfigured them, and the stones are now left exposed to view. On removing the high seats, to make room for better, it was seen that the floor was literally filled with bones right to the surface, entire skulls being found within a few inches of the floor. The process of scraping the walls revealed the existence of two archways, nearly opposite each other, one of which probably formed the arch of the south door, and the other that of the north door. Underneath the modern altar-table was discovered a stone to the memory of a late rector, somewhat mutilated, to make place for the Communion-table; and in this place was also found an ancient sepulchral slab, considerably damaged and broken in parts to form a proper support for the altar. The restoration seems to be conducted on excellent principles.

ELIAS OWEN.

THE OGAM INSCRIPTIONS AT BALLYKNOCK.—In October 1889 an underground passage connected with a *rath*, or earthen fort, on a farm at Ballyknock, in the county of Cork, was opened by the sons of the farmer's widow. They found in it a pillar-stone scored with Ogam. They also found Ogam on many of the slabs of stone with which the passage was roofed. Hearing, in April 1890, of this discovery, the Rev. Edmond Barry, parish priest of Rathcormack, repeatedly visited Ballyknock, and made rubbings and photographs of all the inscribed stones, fifteen in number. The new number of the *Journal* published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland contains Father Barry's readings of these inscriptions. They are accompanied by a careful and learned commentary, and are followed by notes, which contain some corrections made by Professor Rhys, who visited Ballyknock and examined the Ogam in August 1891. Speaking roughly, the dialect in which most of these inscriptions are written bears the same relation to Gaelic—even the Gaelic of the ninth century—that Latin does to French. Philologists will, therefore, welcome the following fifteen documents, although, like most Ogam inscriptions, they contain little but proper names in the genitive singular. It will be understood that on the stones the words are not divided:—

1. MAILAGURO MAQ, , LILA. (There is a blank space after *maq*.)

2. LAMA DE LICCI MAC MAIC BROCC. (At the beginning there is a fracture, in which a few scores may have been lost.)

3. ERACOBÍ MAQÍ ERAQETAI.

4. GRILAGNI MAQÍ SCILAGNI.

5. CLIUCOANUS MAQÍ MAQÍ TRENI.

6. DRUTÍQULÍ MAQÍ MAQÍ : : RODAGNI. (For the last word Father Barry gives *rrrodagni*, the triple *r* of which can hardly be right.)

7. BRANAN MAQÍ OQOLÍ. (For *Branan* we should have expected *Branagni*, "Corvuli." The Ogam writer here was obviously using a dialect not spoken by him, but handed down by tradition.)

8. BOGAI MAQÍ BIRACO. (Prof. Rhys, says Father Barry, doubted whether this inscription is not *Mogai maqi Biracci*, the first and last letters being, apparently, obscure.)

9. CLONUN MAC BAIT.

10. BLAT EGSI.

11. ACTO MAQÍ M . . . MAGO.

12. ERCAI DANA. (Father Barry divides thus : *Erca Idana*; but cf. No. 10.)

13. DOMMO MAQU VIDUCURÍ. (For *Viducuri* Father Barry gives *Feducuri*, but, in an inscription of this date the sign III should be read *v*, and there seem to be five, not four, notches before the *d*. *Maqu* seems = the indeclinable *maccu*, *mocu* of the Book of Armagh, and Adamnán's *Life of Columba*.)

14. ANM MEDDUGINI. (Here *anm*, which occurs on twelve or thirteen other Ogams, is an abbreviation of **aneme* = Ir. *ainm*, "name.")

15. COSALOTÍ. (The second letter is doubtful. The sixth is read *o* (i.e., *ó*) by Prof. Rhys, *u* by Father Barry. If the name be for *cosaloutí*, the primeval form of gen. sg. of *costluath*, "swift-footed", preference must be given to Prof. Rhys's reading.)

From the linguistic point of view these inscriptions fall into two groups. Nos. 1, 2, 9, 10, and 12, belong to the Old-Irish period, say from A.D. 600 to A.D. 900. The rest are in a primeval Celtic dialect, which, so far as regards its declensional endings, stands on the same level as the Gaulish inscriptions. Thus *maqi* (O. Ir. *maic*, (fili), and the names *Eracobi*, *Grilagni*, *Rodagni*, *Scilagni*, *Treni*, *Drutiquili*, *Oqoli*, *Viducuri*, *Meddugini*, and *Cosalóti*, *Eragetái*, and *Bogai*, are genitives sg. of the *o* declension. In *Clíu-coanas* (No. 5) we probably have the gen. sg. of a stem in *n* = Gr. *κυνός*, Skr. *çínas*, the *oa* apparently expressing the fraction of *u* by the following *a* (*o*). The *clíu-* (rectius *cleo-*?) may be cognate with Gr. *κλέφος* and the second element of the Galatian name which Strabo gives as *Δομνέκλειος*. In *Meddugini*, which Father Barry rightly connects with the Celtic *Medugenos* (*C. I. L.*, ii, 162) the *dd* represents the intervocalic spirant dental. So in Ogmie writing *ch* and *th* are represented respectively by *cc* and *tt*. In *Grilagni*, *Oqoli*, and *Scilagni*, the *l* (for *ll*) seems an instance of "singling."—

Academy, Nov. 21, 1891.

WHITLEY STOKES.

THE CHESTER PIGS OF LEAD.—The following is an abstract of a communication of mine, dated April 10, 1891, to the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historical Society. I am persuaded that the principal point of my letter would interest some of the readers of the *Academy*, and that must be my excuse for troubling you.

In consequence of hearing that a member of the Cambrian Archæological Association,¹ on the occasion of their visit to Chester last year, had read DECEANGL on the pigs of lead in the Grosvenor Museum instead of the usual reading DECEANGI, I made it a point to look at them, and I am happy to say that I agree with my brother Cambrian. I have no doubt as to the L on both pigs, but I am not so sure as to the G; though I am strongly inclined to think that it is the reading, I must admit that it may possibly be a C. But granted the reading DECANGL, I should regard it as an abbreviation of a longer word, with which I would identify *Tegeingl*, the name of a district embracing the coast from Cheshire to the River Clwyd.

Here it will be noticed first that the old name began with *d*, whereas the modern one has *t*; but this has its parallel elsewhere, as, for example, in Deganwy, near Llandudno, which is now more commonly called Teganwy, and in some instances of Welsh *din*, as in Tindaethwy in Anglesey, and other place-names which I could mention.

The next question is, What was the full name of the people alluded to on the pigs? One could hardly be far wrong, I think, in giving it as Deceangli or Deceanglii; and, if so, their country was probably *Deceanglia* or *Deceanglion*, according as the word was feminine or neuter. The point of importance, phonologically speaking, is that the *i* was a consonant or a semi-vowel, like *y* in the English words "yet" and "yes." Setting out from an early form *Deceanglion*, one can tell with an approach to certainty what it must become as a Brythonic word in later times; the semi-vowel would cause the *a* of the previous syllable to be modulated into *ei*, which would yield a form *Deceeinglion*. Later, the termination would drop off, and leave the word in the form of *Deceeingl*. That was accented most probably *Decēeingl*; but the accentuation *Decēeingl* would make no difference, as in either case the contraction likely to follow could only be *Decēingl*. This explains a fact for which I see no other possible explanation, namely, that *Tegeingl* is still accented on the ultima, which is contrary to the rule obtaining in modern Welsh, except where the ultima is a contraction of two syllables. In other words, the *a* of *Deceangl*, which was at first my stumbling-block, becomes the means of clenching the argument for the connection between *Tegeingl* and the *Deceangl* of the pigs. It also disposes of all uncertainty as to whether the *de* was, in this case, the Latin preposition or a part of the name, and it strengthens the arguments of the antiquaries who trace the pigs of lead to the neighbourhood of Flint in *Tegeingl*. On the other hand, it leaves the passage in

¹ The member referred to was Archdeacon Thomas.

the Annals of Tacitus doubtful as before; for whether one reads in *Decangos* or *inde Cangos*, neither has anything to do with *Deceangli*, unless one has the courage to go further and adopt some such an emendation as in *Deceanglos*, which seems to me reasonable.

There are two other questions to which I should like to call attention, namely, what were the boundaries of ancient Tegeingl? and what is the actual application of the English name Englefield: when did it first appear, and how is it first used in connection with Tegeingl?

Lastly, I ought to have said that this is by no means the first time the name of Tegeingl has been connected with that inscribed on the Chester pigs, but the strength of the linguistic argument has never, so far as I know, been shown before.

JOHN RHYS.

The Academy, Oct. 31, 1891.

RUINED CHAPELS IN CARMARTHENSHIRE.—The following communication will explain itself. I am unable to help Mr. Tierney, but I agree with him in supposing *Begewdin* to be a personal name, though I can say nothing more about it except that I am not inclined to think it Welsh. This is not the first time Mr. Tierney has interested himself in Welsh Antiquities, and I hope that some of our South-walian antiquaries will favour you and him with a detailed account of the old chapels to which he calls attention; that is to say, unless they have been described on our *Journal* already.

October 19, 1891.

JOHN RHYS.

I have discovered (?) three ruined churches, or chapels of ease, almost in a straight line, running along the side of Mynyddgarreg, nearly east and west, named (1) Capel Herbach, one and a half miles from Porthyrbyd; (2) Capel Begawdin (sometimes spelled and always pronounced Begewdin), about two miles from Llanddarog; and (3) Capel Duddgan, possibly two miles, or more, from Llangendeirne. All these are, or lately have been, surrounded by little groves. Are all these, or any of them, do you think, known to archaeologists, or have they been described in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*? I cannot find that they have, and Mr. Alwyn Evans does not remember. The only one I have had an opportunity of speaking to the country people about, or of inspecting with any care, is Capel Begawdin, and most of what I have to say about that can, I have reason to think, be said of the two others.

In the first place the people call it a Catholic chapel, and no one seems to suppose that it has ever been used in post-Reformation times. It is a small building, with a pretty large door (mouldings well preserved) at the west end. Close to the door is a large well, with a continual and plentiful outflow. The trees around the chapel have recently been cut down, and the bowl of the holy-water stoup was broken off not long ago by some country fellow, who, I suppose, carried it away. There are a few openings in the wall inside, one

of which at the west end was evidently a niche for a statuette of considerable size. The opening where the east window was is quite square and small. I should think there would have been mullions ending at the top in lancet form, etc., in so small an opening. I daresay something could be found if the rubbish covering the floor some feet deep were removed. The place must have been long roofless. I do not know at what rate an oak grows, but it grows slowly, I believe, and there is a gnarled, twisted little oak, about 20 or 25 ft. high, growing up out of the middle of the north wall. I expect it is a long time since the acorn was deposited there—probably by being dropped, I should think, from a bird's beak. A little belfry still crowns the west end.

It is some time since I saw the place, and as I don't understand ecclesiastical architecture, I can give you no better description. As even this may contain something to interest you I thought I might include it in my letter. My chief object in writing is to ask if you could kindly tell me something about the word "Begawdin" or, rather, "Begewdin." I know little of Welsh myself, and have consulted the best Welshmen I could find. A few have made attempts to solve it, but it is only too plain that the nut is more than any of them can crack. My own impression is that it is a proper name, in fact, a personal name, but the little I know of Celtic saints' names, either in their Welsh or Latin form, does not enable me to connect "Begewdin" with any historical personage.

H. C. TIERNEY.

THE LIBER LANDAVENSIS.—It has been decided that a fund raised to provide a memorial to the late Mr. J. A. Corbett of Cardiff shall be applied in support of the publication of a diplomatic reproduction of the *Liber Landavensis*, a work in which he had been actively interested prior to his last illness. By this means a large number of autotype facsimiles will be introduced into the edition from the original MSS., which are now in the possession of Mr. P. Davies-Cooke of Llanerch, and also from the MS. Book of St. Chad, now preserved in Lichfield Cathedral. A few years ago Mr. Corbett had brought out a carefully annotated edition of Merrick's *Book of Glamorganshire Antiquities*, a topographical work of great value.—*Athenæum*, Jan. 30, 1891.

LOCAL SECRETARIES.—The editorial reference, in the report of the Annual Meeting held in Kerry, in the last number of the *Journal*, respecting the falling off of the "Archæological Notes and Queries", coupled, as it is, with the appeal to the local secretaries, will, it is to be hoped, have some real effect in inducing the officials of our society, who hold those responsible positions, to exert themselves more than they have hitherto done. But, on the other hand, one may fairly ask who is to blame for the apathy complained of in the report? I fear that the system under which the affairs of the C.A.A. is managed has the effect of paralysing their energies. Local

secretaries, on their appointment, should be informed that the accepting of this office means something more than merely having their names printed on the covers of the *Journal*. It should be made clear to them that it involves a certain responsibility, and that, in fact, the vitality of the society depends, in a great measure, upon their energetic action and hearty co-operation with the other officers of the society. Still, I feel bound to say something in defence of the local secretary, being one myself. Should he, in his archæological zeal, and the enthusiasm begotten of his first year of office, display a little more than the usual activity, he too often meets a reception which is calculated to cool his ardour, and force him to assume that lethargic state which has called forth this editorial rebuke. I would suggest as a remedy that an official circular¹ be sent to each local secretary, every quarter, about a month before the issue of the *Journal*, with an urgent request that it be filled up with any matter that may have been discovered, collected, or noted during that period. This, in itself, would afford valuable assistance to the editor in preparing the *Journal*. Besides, it would make the local secretary's position a reality; as it is, their duties are completely undefined; I look in vain in the rules of the Association for guidance on the point. The local secretary *cannot*, therefore, be blamed for leaving unperformed an unspecified duty. It should be understood that they are the official representatives of the Society in their several localities. Such a recognition would act as a sort of passport in allowing them free access to various places, to view and make notes of any "find", where otherwise a difficulty might have arisen, through the secretary being, perhaps, a stranger to the finder. This has often been the case when any important discovery is made by persons who are not members, and perhaps ignorant of the very existence of the C.A.A., one's actions being often regarded with a certain amount of undue suspicion, and hindrances put in one's way, which not only prevents but also discourages one from doing a bounden duty. If any of our members or local secretaries agree with a proposal of this nature, I leave it to those who are more experienced than myself to draw up a form or circular, which could be suggested at the next Committee Meeting. I feel confident that a step in this direction must result in benefiting as well as extending the usefulness of our Society. I trust I may be pardoned for appearing to dictate in this manner to a Society that reckons amongst its members some of the most distinguished archæologists of the age.

D. GRIFFITH DAVIES,

Local Secretary for Carnarvonshire.

LLANALLGO, ANGLESEY.—I was invited by Mr. Lloyd Griffith of Holyhead, one of our local secretaries for Anglesey, to accompany him on a visit to Llanallgo Church, in order to see if there might

¹ A circular of the kind suggested was not long ago sent to all the Local Secretaries without producing any result whatever; but, perhaps, if sent periodically it might have a more beneficial effect, on the principle that "Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi sed sæpe cadendo."—ED.

be anything of archæological interest in this little structure worthy of preservation, as the church is shortly to be restored. The building has been described and illustrated in *Arch. Camb.* (vol. v, Ser. 3, pp. 121-3). We found that the stalls and screen shown in the illustration had entirely disappeared. The chapel at the west end of the nave is another feature of the building we found missing. It seems strange that no reference was made, in this account, to a large mural tablet on the north side of the chancel, on which is represented, in high relief, the figure of a knight kneeling before a low desk, clad in the costume of, apparently, the latter part of the sixteenth or the earlier part of the seventeenth century, wearing a cuirass, his helmet, with vizor open, placed on the ground in front of him. The whole thing, we found, was made of plaster, and is gradually crumbling away. With a view to its preservation, the monument has been *literally plastered* over with lime-wash, so that the detail of the ornament, which, from the faint indications now visible, must have been fairly good, have, in a great measure, disappeared. We could get no information from either the present incumbent, or from those who had lived here in the past, about its history, so we came to the conclusion that it must have been erected to the memory of Sir John Bodvel, a celebrated Anglesey Royalist, who lived at Parciau, in the adjoining parish. The east window, though small, is a good example of the third period of the Pointed style, and contains in its upper traceries some choice bits of old glass, which, we were informed, would be well taken care of. In this remote little Anglesey churchyard are buried the unclaimed bodies of those who lost their lives in that terrible catastrophe, the wreck of the *Royal Charter*; and one of the chief objects of this restoration is to extend the nave outwards, in order to include the spot where the bodies have been buried, thus making the nave of this little country church a sort of memorial chapel; and those interested in the matter intend also to erect within the building the obelisk now standing outside over the grave, which will be a most unsightly object in a church of this size, so it is to be hoped that this intention may be abandoned.

D. GRIFFITH DAVIES,

Local Secretary for Carnarvonshire.

LLANARTH, CARDIGANSHIRE.—I want to call attention to the neglect of the valuable relics in the parish,—the inscribed pillar-stone and the font. The Llanarth stone is one of the few monuments in Cardiganshire that has Ogams upon it. It is already so worn that the inscription is almost illegible. This stone is figured in the *Lapidarium Walliæ* (plate 64, fig. 3). It used to stand inside the church, under the tower; but the restorer found his way to Llanarth, and the result was the stone was taken out and set up in the churchyard. A further scaling off of the inscription has followed; so now it is almost impossible to make anything out. Not content with turning out the stone, the restorer also turned out the font, replacing it

in the church by a modern uninteresting affair, that no doubt is thought an improvement. The old font I was told was offered for sale, only one of the churchwardens, to his honour, refused to allow it to go out of the parish. It is a very remarkable specimen, a pyramidal block resting on four lions. It has had an iron band put round it, but the lions are by no means improving by the action of the weather. The Welsh County Councils say they are going to take steps to preserve the national monuments of Wales. It would be well if they would begin by compelling the Llanarth authorities to take care of these remarkable ecclesiastical monuments.

J. W. WILLIS-BUND.

[We hope that Mr. Willis-Bund's timely protest against these two very flagrant acts of Vandalism will have the desired effect of causing the font and Ogam stone to be again placed in the church.—Ed.]

WILLIAM SALESBURY AND BISHOP RICHARD DAVIES.—Through the kindness and courtesy of Mr. Davies-Cooke of Gwysaney, near Mold, I have been able to examine a MS. volume of intense interest, containing three important documents:—

1. A Bond entered into by Mr. "William Salesbury of Llan-sannan" (the translator of most of the New Testament, and editor both of it and the Prayer Book), and bearing his autograph signature.

2. A portion of the original Commission to the Bishops to "translate the booke of the Lorde's Testament into the Vulgar Walsh tong".

3. The autograph Translation into Welsh of the two Epistles to Timothy, and those to Titus and Philemon. Attested on the authority of W. S. (Salesbury) to be the work of Bishop Richard Davies.

D. R. THOMAS.

BISHOP WILLIAM MORGAN OF ST. ASAPH.—Three autograph letters of great interest have recently been presented to the Cathedral Library of St. Asaph by the Rev. D. J. Davies, Rector of North Benfleet, Essex, viz.:—

1. Bishop William Morgan to Sir John Gwynne of Goyder.

2. The same to Mr. Martin.

3. Sir John Wynne to Mr. Martyn.

They are the same as were printed in Yorke's *Royal Tribes of Wales*; and they have now found a fitting resting-place in the Cathedral of the diocese, in whose history they describe, from opposite sides, an important episode.

D. R. THOMAS.

CARDIGANSHIRE INSCRIBED STONES.—I beg to apologise to Professor Westwood for venturing to write anything on the inscribed stones of Wales, as I am aware it is little less than heresy to doubt

the absolute accuracy of everything in the *Lapidarium Walliæ*; but in this, as well as other things, I am a heretic. This is why I fail to see the reason why Professor Westwood, speaking of my note, says "I object to be thus criticised." My object was, as I stated, to show how the photograph varied from the published description. I had no desire to take credit for discovering an undescribed stone. What I wanted to do was to ascertain if there were two inscribed stones at Pontfaen; and, as I could only find one, I was anxious to know if it was or was not the one described. I gave the substance of Professor Westwood's description. I did not pretend to quote it. I admit at once I have used the term "field", while the word in the *Lapidarium* is "enclosure". I have now Professor Westwood's authority for saying the stone I mentioned has not been described; and an addition to the list of stones repays one for even professorial criticism. I may add that, notwithstanding the "short but careful description", I could not find or hear of any other stone at Pontfaen. I am also charged with misquoting the description, in stating that the stone is broken through the middle. I stated nothing of the kind. I said—and if it is worth any one's while to look at the engraving on p. 328 they will see I am right—"The plate represents a stone broken through the middle."

The "Idnerth" Stone.—I apologise at once for a mistake, and am obliged for its correction. It was wrong to state that the letter i follows a mark; it should be "is followed by". Professor Westwood says I have added nothing to his description. I do not know if he insinuates that I have simply taken his description. I state that there are only two fragments, the larger portion of it. I give the words on each fragment, and describe the place of each. If, like Professor Westwood, I was to be very critical, I might take exception to his description, and say that only a portion, not portions, is in the north-west angle; that the fragment is further to the south.

I might also add, if extreme accuracy is required, that the HIC has disappeared entirely. It is the JACET, not the HIC JACET, that is broken through. With regard to the other stone, the plate in the *Lapidarium* is copied from a drawing made before the 1874 restoration. I can only say that if it correctly represented the stone then, it does not do so now. The cross-bar at the top is omitted, and one or two other details.

I much regret being led into any controversy with one who has done so much for Welsh archæology as Professor Westwood; and, on the principle that every cow thinks its own calf the finest, I quite understand that he should object to anything being said about the expurgation of his book; but no one who has given any attention to the inscribed stones of Wales but will admit that there is need, if only on the ground of the large number of stones not mentioned in it, for a revised edition.

J. W. WILLIS-BUND.

INSCRIBED STONE AT SOUTHILL, CORNWALL.—The discovery of an inscribed stone at Southill, Cornwall, by Mr. S. J. Wills, was announced in the quarterly number of the *Arch. Camb.* for October, 1891. The stone has recently been visited by the Rev. W. Jago who reads the inscription :—

CUMREGNI
FILI MAUCI

In removing the earth which concealed the end of the stone it was found that the Chi-Rho Monogram of Christ was carved at what must have been originally the top of the pillar. The total length of the stone is 8 ft. 2 ins. We hope to give a more accurate drawing of the inscription in a future number.

J. R. A.

THE CELTIC INCISED STONES AT GLAMORGAN.—At a meeting of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society, under the presidency of Dr. C. T. Vachell, on Thursday evening, Mr. Thomas Henry Thomas, R.C.A., read a paper on the "Pre-Norman, Inscribed, and Decorated Monumental Stones of Glamorganshire", being explanatory notes on the series of magnificent photographs by Mr. T. Mansel Franklen, lately deposited for the use of the public in Cardiff Free Library. Lantern slides have been made for the Natural History Society from a portion of the larger series of the Glamorgan photographic survey, for which the gold medal, offered by the Library, was awarded to Mr. Franklen. Amongst the slides the stones of the Roman period did not come within the purview, there being very few Roman stones in the county.

The earliest were of the period immediately succeeding the Roman, and some of them, being marked with a cross, showed that the persons whom they commemorated were Christian. The only view of a Roman stone shown was that found at Port Talbot, and it bore the name of the Emperor Maximian. Three gave an idea of the Roman-British period. They had simple inscriptions, without ornament, and bore the names of the persons commemorated in the genitive case. The larger number of the examples consisted of pedestals, shafts, and bases intended to support crosses, and a few crosses almost complete, all of which were decorated, and most of them had inscriptions as well, the decorations in all being of that twisted and plaited ribbon or knot-work long known as Anglo-Saxon ornament, but which have been proved by the researches of Professor Westwood to be Celtic. Mr. Thomas said he had been indebted for the matter chiefly to the works of Professor Westwood, and of Mr. J. Romilly Allen, who has been carrying out a most elaborate critical analysis of Celtic art generally, in which he fully treats of the Glamorganshire examples. As to the peculiar shapes of the crosses and their decorations, he mentioned the fact that upon them are to be found instances of Eastern and pagan symbolism, and that the crosses themselves in hardly any instance represented the cross of crucifixion, but were wheel crosses based upon the Greek

monogram I.X. Some slides were shown giving the alphabets found upon the stones, these being of three kinds, namely, Roman, Ogam, and Irish small lettering. The dates of the decorated monuments were generally from the eighth to the tenth centuries. In explanation of the decorations, he followed Mr. Romilly Allen's classification of the elements of the geometric and knot ornaments used. The very early inscribed stones, such as the Carantorius and Boduoc, he stated, were standing, the former near Kenfig and the latter on Margam Mountain. The Carantorius was the only one inscribed in Ogam character, and was the first Ogam inscription in Wales. Both of these were probably of not later date than the sixth century. Amongst the stones of the later periods (the seventh to the tenth centuries) there were a few which had traces upon them of sculptures of the human figure and animals of the rudest possible character, and the lecturer remarked that, with all their power over ornament, the Celtic artists were unable to draw the human or animal forms. Of this class, the carving upon the cross in the churchyard of Llangan was the most interesting. Another instance was the base of the monument in Llandough Churchyard, near Cardiff. The greater number of the monuments were to be found in two groups, one at Margam and the other at Llantwit Major. At Margam the most celebrated was the great wheel cross, upon which was the name of Cunbelin. The sculptures on this were interacements, remarkable for the intricacy with which the knot-work was carried. A small stemmed cross, incised upon a block, at the same place, was of special beauty. The crosses of Ilci and Ilquici were very peculiar instances of an eight-rayed cross, whilst there was an instance at the same place of a six-rayed one. At Llantwit Major the most interesting were the Pillar of Sampson, the Cross of Sampson, and the Cross of Howelt, the latter being elaborately carved with geometrical patterns. Other crosses at Merthyr Mawr, Coy-Church, and the great pedestal at Llandough, were described. In conclusion, Mr. Thomas explained that the object of his paper was to endeavour to enlist interest in the condition of these venerable monuments, which had been erected to the memory of kings and saints in the earlier periods of the British Church, in order that some means might be devised for their better preservation, and a collection might be made of casts which should be accessible to students of archæology and of the fine arts. Mr. Harrison, of the University College, manipulated the lantern for showing the slides.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Thomas and Mr. Harrison.—*South Wales Daily News*, March 25, 1892.

Obituary.

EDWARD AUGUSTUS FREEMAN.

As so much has appeared in the public prints on the heavy loss sustained by the death of the Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, who died at Alicante, on March 16th, of small-pox, which he unconsciously brought from Tarragona, our notice will be chiefly confined to what our Association owes to his memory. His name appears in the long list of members contained in the volume for 1847, in which year the first annual meeting was held at Aberystwyth, under the presidency of Sir Stephen Glynne. For several years Mr. Freeman very frequently attended our meetings, giving interesting and instructive lectures on the churches, and other architectural antiquities met with in the excursions. He would occasionally, before a meeting, visit the neighbourhood and prepare descriptive papers to be read at the meeting, which afterwards appeared in the *Journal*, illustrated by engravings after sketches by his own pen.

Of these we may instance the paper on South Pembrokeshire, in the volume for 1852, containing sketches of the churches of Manorbier, Monkton, Rhoscrowther, Castlemartin, Cosheston, Warren, and Johnston, and the castles of Carew and Upton. This paper was read at Tenby in 1851, the Earl of Cawdor being President. At the close of the meeting Mr. Basil Jones, Mr. Freeman, Sir Stephen Glynne, and a few other members visited St. David's. They found the cathedral in a very different condition from that in which it now is, although some important repairs had been effected a few years previously, under the direction of Mr. Butterfield. All these works, except the great window in the north transept, are mentioned in the volume for 1849, p. 140, the cost, as we believe, being borne by persons not officially connected either with the Cathedral or the diocese. The accomplished authors of the *History and Antiquities of St. David's*, and their friends, were liberal contributors.

In the volume for 1849, at the meeting held at Cardiff, under the presidency of Dean Conybeare, we find Mr. Freeman speaking on Llandaff Cathedral, on the architecture of which church his remarks appeared in an attractive little volume in the following year.

The volume of the *Journal* for 1853 contains a paper of Mr. Freeman's on Leominster Priory Church, which was read at Ludlow in 1852; also, at p. 180, results of excavations at Leominster, followed by criticisms of Parker's *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, so far as relates to South Wales. The volume for 1854 contains his third paper on Monmouthshire, the first and second having appeared in 1851; also a paper on the churches of St. John's Priory, of St.

Mary's, and of Christ's College, Brecon, with brief notices of Llanddew and Crickhowell, read at Brecon in 1853; and a paper on St. Asaph Cathedral, read at Ruthin in the same year. The volume for 1855 contains his paper on Ruthin Church and Hospital, read in 1854 at Ruthin; and a paper on Llanthony Priory, which he visited with the Association in 1876. In the volume for 1856 is a paper on the ecclesiastical architecture of Wales and the Marches, with drawings of the following churches: Crickhowell, Llanrhystid, Whitchurch near Denbigh, Talgarth, Cathedin, Llanilar, Llanaber, and Llanfihangel Talyllyn.

The volume for 1857 contains Mr. Freeman's notes on the churches of Coyty, Coychurch, and Ewenny, which were visited under his guidance, from Bridgend, in 1869; also his notes on St. Mellon's, Monmouthshire. In the volume for 1858 is his description of Llan-twit Major, also visited by the Association from Bridgend, under the presidency of Lord Dunraven. In 1875, during the Carmarthen meeting, Mr. Freeman lectured on Kidwelly Castle and Church. At the Abergavenny meeting, in 1876, he was President. In his inaugural address he paid a well merited tribute to the Bishop of St. David's, the President of the previous year, and made some learned and interesting remarks on the language and history of Wales.

[We hope to publish a portrait of the late Prof. E. A. Freeman in the July Number of the Journal.—Ed.]

THOMAS ALLEN.

By the lamented death of Mr. Thomas Allen, which took place on the 26th of March, the Cambrian Archæological Association loses an old and valued member. Mr. Allen was born on the 17th of February 1813, and educated at Shrewsbury School, which has sent so many other distinguished classical scholars to the Universities.

After having taken a good degree at Oxford he joined the South Wales circuit, and he held, some years before his decease, the appointments of Revising Barrister and Deputy Clerk of Arraigus. Amongst Mr. Allen's public services, not the least was the energetic interest he exhibited in promoting the objects of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

With regard to our own Society, although he did not contribute any great number of papers to the Journal, he was a very regular attendant at the Annual Meetings, and took a sympathetic interest in everything connected with the study of antiquities. He was a thoroughgoing opponent of the Dryasdust type of archæologist, and when occasion demanded it he did not scruple to remind the reader of a paper, not unkindly, yet with a touch of grim humour peculiarly his own, that the audience were going to sleep.

Mr. Allen was an ardent sportsman, and his genial presence will be as much missed on the Exmoor hunting-field as at our annual gatherings.

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

LLANDEILO MEETING.

THE Annual Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association for excursions will take place this year at Llandeilo Fawr, in Carmarthenshire, during the four days commencing August 8th. The office of President has been accepted by SIR JAMES WILLIAMS DRUMMOND, BART. One of the chief attractions of the Meeting will be Talley Abbey, which is being explored by Mr. Stephen W. Williams, F.S.A.

Amongst other objects of interest to be visited are the Roman gold mines and inscribed stones at Dolau Cothi, the great hill-fortress at Carn Goch, the "Eiudon" Cross at Golden Grove, Carreg Cenin Castle, and the Llandeibie Bone-Caves.

The Rev. C. Chidlow, General Secretary for South Wales, is actively engaged on the organisation of the preliminary arrangements, and will issue the programme at an early date.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT FOR YEAR ENDING
DEC. 31, 1891.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Balance in hand, Jan. 1, 1891			Editor's salary	50	0 0
Subscriptions in arrear	252	1 2	Editor's disbursements, 1891		1 18 6
Subscriptions, 1891	67	4 0	Treasurer's disbursements	2	9 0
J. Cobb, Esq., for Index	253	1 0	Printing	146	16 2
Rev. H. Pritchard, ditto	0	7 6	Engraving	58	10 0
Holywell Local Fund (additional)	5	0 0	Messrs. Parker for electro-types	3	18 6
Books sold	1	1 0	W.G. Smith, Esq., Killarney Meeting	5	5 0
	21	0 0	Rev. R. Trevor Owen's disbursements, 1887-90	10	0 0
			Circulars, Holywell Meeting	1	14 0
			Committee Meetings, Denbigh, 2; Holywell, 1; Shrewsbury, 1	3	14 6
			Balance	315	9 0
	£599	14 8		£599	14 8

Audited and found correct, 13 Feb. 1892.

D. R. THOMAS
JAMES DAVIES.

The INDEX to the First Four Series of the ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS is now ready, and can be had on application to the Publisher, Mr. C. J. Clark, 4, Lincoln's Fields, W.C. Price 10s. 6d.; to members, 7s. 6d.

